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THE COMMUNIST

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.
EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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EDITORIALS

BROWDER'S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY

TO COMRADE BROWDER in Atlanta Penitentiary, imprisoned by the will of the imperialists and warmakers, our heartfelt loyalty and devotion, on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday.

This occasion is being celebrated by masses of our people throughout the land. They are doing so through special mass meetings devoted to the Browder Fiftieth Anniversary Campaign launched by the National Committee of the Communist Party. They are doing so by circulating and studying Browder's writings, particularly his latest book, *The Way Out*,* in order to master the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the teachings that will lead them to victory over their exploiters and oppressors. They celebrate Browder's fiftieth birthday by building the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and by rallying more closely and in greater numbers around Browder's party—the vanguard party of the American working class and of all working people—and by sending into its ranks new thousands of party members to reinforce the struggle of the people against the warmakers. They finally celebrate the occasion, doing honor to the leader of the growing peace front of the American people, by intensifying the struggle on all fronts against the reactionary and war offensive of the American bourgeoisie, demanding with ever increasing determination that Earl Browder be freed.

Wall Street and its warmaking government want the people to forget Browder. But the people are not forgetting him. Even more than before his imprisonment, large masses of the people think of Browder, study his work and writings, join the struggles which he champions and leads, and prepare to join actively the ranks of the Party which he heads. No; the people are not forgetting Browder.

And why so? Because the people cannot forget the war, and the imperialist offensive and capitalist exploitation. The masses of the people are compelled to take daily notice of these evils and to fight against them. And, as they do so, they must think of Browder in the Atlanta Penitentiary to which he was confined by the ruling class for championing and leading these struggles. They think of Browder as their spokesman and leader whom they now need more than ever before, who has left an indelible imprint upon their thoughts and emotions in the many years of his active work in the cause of

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the people, especially in the last decade when he stood at the head of the Communist Party of the United States.

From his early youth, nourished by the revolutionary traditions of our people and working class, Earl Browder has been in the very thick of the progressive struggles of American labor and its allies among the working people. A Left-winger in the Socialist Party, prior to the emergence of the Communist Party, and a militant progressive in the trade union movement, Earl Browder always stood on the advanced sector of the class struggle, in the vanguard ranks of labor's fighting army, associating with such leaders of our class and people as Debs, Haywood, Ruthenberg and Foster.

Led to Marxism by his theoretical studies and practical leadership in the class struggle, the teachings of Marxism which he so giftedly advances and popularizes among the masses, Earl Browder has come naturally and inevitably to the great continuators of Marxism—to Lenin and Stalin. He embraced the teachings of Lenin and Stalin as the application and further development of Marxism to the new conditions and tasks of the era of imperialism and socialist revolution. He embraced these teachings in the process of struggle against the first imperialist world war (1914-1918), which he met as a working class internationalist, opposing America's entrance into it and being jailed for his opposition by the Roosevelts of that time. In the teachings of Lenin and Stalin which led to the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution, the event that opened up the present epoch of the world socialist revolution, Earl Browder had found the answer to the new fundamental problems and tasks facing the American working class in this epoch. He found the path to the creation of the party of a new type —the Communist Party—which this epoch calls for. He thus became a founder and builder of the Communist Party of the United States, leading the fight against reformism and Social-Democratism on a new and higher plane, in association with Ruthenberg, Foster and the other known revolutionary Marxists in America.

How then can the people forget Browder even though separated from them by the walls of the Atlanta Penitentiary? They cannot and they will not, despite all efforts by the ruling class to bring it about. Browder continues to influence the minds and struggles of the masses, vitally and potently, just as Thaelmann does, and Prestes, and Zapotocky, and Semard, and the other leaders of the people that are kept captive by the bourgeoisie of Germany, France, England and the United States. For these are the best sons of their peoples, their nations, their working classes.

Capitalist spokesmen in the United States are trying to mislead the people into believing that Browder is a "foreign agent," that his political work and leadership are "un-American." What travesty of truth and fairness! And the truth is becoming known to ever wider masses of our people. It is the truth that Browder and his party are not only an inseparable and vital part

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of the American nation but one that represents most fully and thoroughly the best interests of the American people—in the present as for the future.

Those familiar with Browder's work and writings, and their name is becoming legion, know full well how much he has done to revitalize and activize the revolutionary traditions of the American people. These revolutionary traditions of struggle for national independence, for democracy for the people, for the abolition of slavery, for world peace and international brotherhood; struggles associated with the names of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Douglass; struggles and traditions that are the just pride of the American people and their rightful claim to progressive leadership in that epoch of world development when feudal reaction and remnants of feudalism were the main obstacle to social progress; struggles and traditions which the ideologists of the American bourgeoisie in the imperialist epoch have so distorted and confused as to make them meaningless for the present-day tasks of the American people; these revolutionary traditions and glorious struggles Browder has brought back to life, giving them meaning and significance for the present and the future. What greater service could a loyal son of the American people and its working class render the nation in the present period?

Following the lead of Lenin and Stalin, Browder has made us see the American revolutionary traditions as a vital force in the present-day struggles of the masses for peace, freedom and security. By his Marxist historical evaluations of the past revolutionary struggles for bourgeois democracy in the United States, Browder has given the working class and its allies new weapons of struggle against imperialist and capitalist reaction today as well as a clearer understanding of how to fight for the new and higher type of democracy, for socialist democracy, the true democracy for the people which has been established and developed in the Soviet Union. What greater service could one render the American people at a time of mounting capitalist reaction, destruction of the people's civil liberties, imperialist world war and the most far-reaching crisis of the capitalist system?

Applying to American conditions and tasks the method and principles of the most advanced revolutionary and scientific theory—Marxism-Leninism—Earl Browder has been blazing a path for successful progressive action by the masses of our people headed by its working class. Forward action, progressive action, action that alone can save the American nation from the catastrophe to which the course of the imperialist ruling class is leading, action which enables the masses to resist successfully the war and reactionary offensive of the bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic servants and which helps the people to become ready for eventual liberation from capitalist misrule. Is this service to the American nation? Of course it is. Because the nation is the people and not its imperialist and warmaking exploiters. The nation is its working class, its working farmers and middle

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classes of the cities. And it is these masses of our people that Browder and his party are serving by organizing the progressive mass struggles for peace, freedom and security.

It is no accident that Browder's latest book is devoted to the crucial question of *the way out* of the crisis of capitalism and the catastrophic course of the ruling class. This is the major question that is forcing itself steadily upon the masses of the American people as well as upon the masses in all capitalist countries. Where are the imperialists taking us to? What is going to be the end of it? Like the Communists in all countries, Browder and his party are bringing to the masses *the people's way out* of the imperialist war and its terrific consequences, the way that leads to a speedy conclusion of the war, to a true people's peace, to national independence of the oppressed and conquered nations, to lasting peace and security, to the eventual abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, which will make war forever impossible. And this is how Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party, serves the American nation, its people, its producing masses. And this is why Earl Browder has been placed by the ruling class in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

In ever larger numbers the masses of our people are learning that this is what Browder stands and works for. That is why thousands upon thousands are celebrating his fiftieth birthday in all parts of the country. They celebrate the great event in the spirit and in the way proposed by the National Committee of the Communist Party in its call for a Browder Fiftieth Anniversary Campaign during the period from May 1 to June 15. They do so in special mass meetings and other gatherings, by circulating and studying Browder's writings to popularize and master the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, by extending the permanent circulation of the *Daily Worker*, by building the Communist Party and recruiting thousands of new members into it. They do all of this in order to strengthen the struggles of the masses against the imperialist war, for the protection of the economic standards and civil rights of all working people, for a people's peace, for freedom, for socialism. And in doing so, they are raising the demand *for the immediate and unconditional freedom of Earl Browder.*

We join with all these masses of fighters against the imperialist war and capitalist reaction in sending our congratulations and best wishes to Earl Browder on his fiftieth birthday, assuring him of our loyalty and devotion, determined to follow the course he champions and leads, despite all difficulties and obstacles.

NEARING THE "SHOOTING STAGE" OF THE WAR

IT IS unquestionable that American imperialism is pushing this country with increasing rapidity toward the "shooting stage" of the war. All signs point in that direction. And it is also unquestionable that the majority of the American people do not support the war course of the imperialists and their

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government, that they are opposed to further involvement, that they want to see the United States out of the war, that they ardently desire the end of it and the establishment of genuine and lasting peace. Thus the imperialists are brazenly violating and defying the democratic will of the people while falsely representing themselves as fighters for democracy and freedom.

That the "shooting stage" of the war is near for the United States, if it is not already here, is seen from the extraordinary intensity of the imperialist war propaganda and its open drive for complete involvement as well as from various governmental steps in the same direction. While the government is still maneuvering — maneuvering with and against the people—it is nevertheless pushing forward unmistakably toward the "shooting stage." The fact that the two most outstanding and powerful representatives of monopoly capital in this country—Rockefeller and Lamont (of Morgan & Co.)—found it advisable and necessary to come out with an open call for war, something these people rarely do publicly and in their own names, would indicate plainly that the stage is set for all-out participation in the second imperialist world war. And this judgment is not at all invalidated by the fact that the open war pleas by Rockefeller and Morgan also indicate the continued existence and even sharpening of disagreements within the imperialist bourgeoisie itself regarding estimates of the situation, tactics and timing. For the position of American imperialism in the midst of the war which has become a *world* war is such as to drive the ruling class inexorably to full and complete involvement.

Objectively, therefore, the gulf between the peace desires of the masses of the people and the war course of the imperialist bourgeoisie is becoming ever wider and deeper; and it is the kind of a gulf that cannot be bridged. At the same time, the organized struggles of the masses against the war course of the bourgeoisie continue to develop, finding their chief expression at the present juncture in the struggles of the workers for the protection and improvement of their economic standards and democratic liberties, with the working farmers and middle classes of the cities *still searching* for a way of organized expression of their own demands on the same issues. It is also clear that the organized forces of the anti-imperialist people's front are growing, despite all difficulties; and this was shown once more in the May Day demonstrations and meetings in various parts of the country.

The anti-war struggle of the masses is progressing, but it is still in its early phases. Further and more intensive *organization of the masses below* for the anti-war struggle, in closest contact with the developing mass movements against the imperialist attempt to make the people bear the full burden of the war, is obviously the most important task of the moment.

And as we approach ever more closely the "shooting stage of the war," the masses of our people will be asking with increasing persist-

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ence the crucial question: What Is the Way Out? How can this world slaughter, which is rapidly engulfing our own country, be brought to an end? How can a people's peace be achieved, a just and lasting peace, with national freedom and independence for all peoples, a peace resting on brotherly collaboration between nations and peoples?

The spokesmen of American imperialism and its reformist flunkeys would like the masses to believe that the Anglo-American imperialists are aiming at the establishment of precisely this kind of peace. And there is no doubt that large numbers of our people are being misled into accepting these assurances of the warmakers, even though with little certainty or conviction. But particularly misleading and confusing to the masses is the tricky argument used by the reformist and Social-Democratic leaders, directly and indirectly, that the choice for the masses is between a Hitler victory and a Roosevelt-Churchill victory, and that there is no other choice. This tricky sophism is used to drive home the totally fraudulent proposition that a Roosevelt-Churchill victory would be "better" (if not altogether good) than a Hitler victory. And from here on the conclusions become almost "inevitable." Namely: "If you don't want a Hitler victory, you must support Roosevelt and Churchill"; furthermore: "If you don't support Roosevelt and Churchill, you are in fact supporting Hitler." That many honest people, who hate the imperialist war, have been caught in the nets of this tricky sophism, is well known; a fact for which Social-Democratism bears chief responsibility.

Wherein lies the trick? It lies in the assumption that, whatever happens, imperialism and capitalism remain and that, therefore, the masses can do nothing but choose between one imperialism or another. It lies in the further assumption that none but an imperialist "peace" is possible, that the peoples *themselves* are helpless to bring about anything else, that all they can do is to make their choice between something that is definitely bad and something that may be (at worst) not quite so bad. And with these false assumptions, the trick is repeated over and over again for the sole purpose of checking and destroying the growing confidence of the masses in their own powers, so that they can more easily be chained to the war chariot of the Rockefellers and Morgans.

For the truth of the matter is that the imperialists themselves, as well as their reformist agents, know full well that there *is* another way out for the masses, an entirely different way than a victory for either Hitler or Roosevelt-Churchill. And *basically* the imperialists of both camps fear nothing so much as precisely this different way out *which is the victory of the masses over all imperialisms.* That is why they so desperately seek to picture their respective "new orders" in colors attractive to the masses. That is why they work so energetically to undermine the confidence of the masses in their own powers to realize a true people's peace in defiance of the imperialist bour-

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geoisie. That is finally why they single out the Communists for special persecution, because the Communists are the most consistent advocates and organizers of the people's way out.

If that were not so, how would one explain the fact that both German and American imperialism have essentially the same attitude (though still in somewhat different form) to the Communist Parties and their leaders, at the very time when these rival imperialisms are practically at war and are preparing for most bloody decisions against one another? How does one explain that fact? The only explanation is that the struggle between the imperialists of Germany and the United States is waged in each country *by the same class,* by the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie, which is waging war not only against its imperialist rival but also against its own people, and singles out the Communists for special persecution because they are the most consistent and irreconcilable enemies of imperialism and capitalism, because they are the most dependable force for the organization of the people's victory over all imperialisms, of the people's way out.

Ernst Thaelmann, the leader of the German Communist Party, is held in jail by German imperialism; Earl Browder, the leader of the Communist Party of the United States, is held in jail by American imperialism. Is it because these two Communist leaders and their parties are following courses of action that are at cross purposes with each other? No; that is too absurd. The only difference in the policies of these two Communist Parties is that the German Party fights primarily against *German* imperialism and the American Party fights primarily against *American* imperialism, both proceeding from the same Lenin-Stalinist principle that the struggle against imperialist war and imperialism *begins at home,* against your "own" imperialist bourgeoisie.

And this is a very important point, a fundamental one. Reformist and Social-Democratic leaders also "fight" imperialism and imperialist war, but it is always the other imperialism they are fighting, the one that stands in the way of their own. Thus, for example, Hillman and Green declaim very hotly against German imperialism and Japanese imperialism, but for their own imperialism they have nothing but praise. American imperialism, they say, is "different." In fact, if you believe them, it is not imperialism at all but sweetness and light, "anti-fascism," and "democracy." But the masses of the American paople are beginning to know better.

But, it is asked, aren't the German Social-Democratic leaders, those that are supporting Anglo-American imperialism, thus fighting their own, German imperialism? The answer is: no. These Social-Democratic leaders, who themselves have paved the way for fascism in Germany, fear now most of all that the continuation of fascist rule leads to the accumulation of such powerful explosive forces as insure not only the outbreak of most far-reaching revolutionary upheavals but certain victory of the peoples over imperialism and capi-

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talism. Fearing and hating this eventuality more than anything else, these German Social-Democratic leaders are in the service of British imperialism not as a way of struggle against their own. That is impossible. They are in the service of British imperialism as a way of struggle against their own people's victory over German imperialism, a victory that would eventually lead to the victory of the socialist revolution. And in this policy the German Social-Democratic leaders are fully consistent with their entire treacherous reformist past: to save German capitalism from the socialist revolution has been and continues to be their main aim and concern. Hence their present support of Anglo-American imperialism as the future savior of German capitalism and imperialism.

Incidentally, other Social-Democratic leaders are supporting the present rulers of Germany. And for the same basic reason: to forestall and prevent a victory of the peoples over all imperialisms.

When it is understood, therefore, that the main role of Social-Democratism, whichever imperialist side it supports, is to prevent a people's peace and a people's victory over all imperialisms, then its counter-revolutionary attitude toward the Soviet Union becomes fully clear. For it is evident that the greatest single support to the people's anti-imperialist peace movements in the capitalist world is the socialist Soviet Union. This is incontestable. Consequently, he who opposes a people's peace and a people's victory over the imperialists and war-makers would "naturally" single out the Soviet Union for particular attack, slander and conspiracy. And this is what Social-Democratism is doing.

The perspective of a people's peace arises from the fact that in the capitalist world the masses are gradually coming together and are consolidating their forces into genuine people's fronts headed by the working class and led by consistent anti-imperialists. These peace forces of the growing people's front, struggling for a speedy termination of the war and for a people's peace, are gradually acquiring greater organization and political consciousness. And as they do so, they become infused ever more thoroughly with the spirit and ideas of proletarian internationalism and are rallying ever more closely and in larger numbers around the great Soviet Union in active solidarity with its peace policies. This is the unmistakable process, taking place before our very eyes; and, although still in its early phases, it most assuredly creates the prerequisites and forces capable of realizing a people's peace and a people's victory.

No wonder, therefore, that the imperialists and their reformist servants are seeking by all means to undermine the confidence of the masses in their own powers, on the one hand, and to prevent the growing solidarity of the peoples with the Soviet Union, on the other. In this way, each of the warring imperialist camps, while carrying on the war for victory over its rival, hopes to make impossible a victory of the masses, expecting thus to save the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

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These hidden wishes of the imperialists do occasionally break through even in their own press. Says *The New York Times* in a May Day editorial regarding the significance of that day's demonstration in the Soviet Union:

"It is not the Labor Day of the Third International. It is a day of military parade, an occasion to display, not the solidarity of the workers of the world, but the armed force of Russia."

If the authors of this editorial were frank with their readers, they would have prefaced the foregoing observation with the words: "We wish it were so; but, alas, it isn't." May Day in the Soviet Union was precisely a magnificent demonstration of solidarity with the workers and oppressed nations in the capitalist world. What else could it be? And this is what worries *The Times* and the imperialists everywhere.

Here are a few of the major slogans of the Soviet Union's May Day demonstration, formulated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"Long live May First, militant review of the revolutionary forces of the working class. Our fraternal greetings to our class brothers, prisoners of capital, fighters for emancipation of the working class throughout the world. Strengthen the international contacts of the working class of the U.S.S.R. with the working class of the capitalist countries. Hold aloft the banner of international proletarian solidarity. Working people of the U.S.S.R., do not forget the capitalist encirclement, steadily strengthen our Red Army and our socialist intelligence service!"

Of course, there was also in the Soviet Union's May Day demonstrations "a display of armed force," and a very impressive display, according to all reports. And the workers of the world, and the oppressed nations and peoples, will derive great comfort and much inspiration from that fact. Because—what does this force stand for? We again turn to some of the May Day slogans in the Soviet Union. They say:

"Long live our Red Army—mighty bulwark of peaceful labors of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., reliable guardian of the gains of the great October Revolution. Long live the foreign policy of the Soviet government, the policy of peace between peoples and ensuring the security of our fatherland!"

The armed forces of the Soviet Union stand guard over socialism—the beacon light and road of salvation for the world. These forces back up a foreign policy that fights for peace among peoples, a policy which is in fraternal solidarity with the peace movements of the masses everywhere. That is why there is a growing sympathy and solidarity with the Soviet Union among the widest masses in the capitalist world. That is why these masses will derive fresh inspiration and encouragement in their struggles for a people's peace, from the May Day demonstrations in the Soviet Union, from its glorious manifestation of international working class solidarity as well as from its display of armed force.

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In this growing solidarity of the masses in the capitalist world with the Soviet Union lies the chief guarantee for the victory of a people's peace. And as this major idea of our time becomes known to and accepted by the masses in all countries, they lend increasingly more active support to the Soviet Union's peace policies. They realize ever more clearly that such a measure as the Neutrality Pact between the Soviet Union and Japan, creating better conditions for peaceful relations between the two countries and increasing the security of the Soviet Union, increases the influence of the Soviet Union in world affairs and strengthens the effectiveness of its peace policies. In this way, more power is added to the struggle for a people's peace; greater strength is acquired for the eventual victory of the masses everywhere.

Thus the leadership of the great Stalin, now Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, demonstrates daily the principles of international working class solidarity, inspires the masses with confidence in their own power, lights their way to a people's peace—to freedom, security and socialism.

And it is right here that we can best see the full imperialist class nature of the policies of the Roosevelts, Willkies, Landons, Hoovers, Lindberghs, Vandenbergs and Tafts, and of their reformist supporters—the Hillmans, Greens and Norman Thomases. All of them, regardless of whatever differences they may have, oppose a genuine people's peace. They employ all the powers at their command to impress the masses with the fraudulent idea that their only choice lies between a German imperialist "peace" and an Anglo-American imperialist "peace," according to Roosevelt-Willkie-Hillman; or that the choice lies between a German imperialist "peace" in collaboration with American imperialism and no peace at all, according to Lindbergh-Landon-Norman Thomas. Consequently, both imperialist groups with their respective reformist supporters seek by all means to prevent the crystallization of a genuine people's peace front; to prevent the collaboration of the American people with the peace movements of the masses in other countries; to make impossible support by the American masses to the national liberation struggles of the peoples of Latin America, of China, of India and of other oppressed nations; and, above all, to stem the process of growing solidarity of the peace forces in the United States with the Soviet Union, in the hope and expectation that the present war will somehow and sometime be turned against the land of socialism and against the liberation movements of the masses everywhere.

As for Norman Tromas, more particularly, the greatest disaster that could overtake the world would be a people's peace and a people's victory mean—what can it mean—if words are different. He speaks of such a possibility as "a Stalin victory." But what does such a victory mean—what can it mean—if not a victory of the peoples in all countries, a people's peace, a victory of working class internationalism, the transition to a world without war, crises, oppression and

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exploitation of man by man or nation by nation? Norman Thomas & Co. know full well that reformism can render to the imperialists and warmakers no better service at the present time—in the midst of the second imperialist world war—than to discourage the independent mass struggles for peace, to spread among them lack of confidence in their own powers, to prevent the growth of their solidarity with the Soviet Union. And that is what the reformist leaders are doing.

From which follows that the major anti-war movements of the masses at the present time, which take the chief form of struggle for the economic standards and democratic liberties of the people, *must systematically be infused with the idea and slogans of struggle for a people's peace.* Day by day, and in the very process of further organizing and developing the resistance of the masses to the increasing burdens of war and militarization, the genuine peace forces must challenge and explode the bourgeois and reformist myth that the people's choice lies only between a victory of one or another imperialist gang, bringing forward and popularizing most widely the perspective of a people's peace and a people's victory.

Thus will richer meaning be added to the slogan "Get Out and Stay Out of the War," and the peace struggles of the masses will begin to advance more rapidly and to higher stages. In this way broader forces will be entering the process of crystallizing a genuine people's peace front of the American people, struggling for the speedy termination of the war, for a people's peace, in collaboration with the anti-imperialist forces in all countries and in solidarity with the great Soviet Union.

BUILDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

EARL BROWDER spends his fiftieth birthday in jail because he leads the struggle against the imperialist war and for a people's peace. To do honor to the anti-war leader, as thousands upon thousands are now doing, is to strengthen the cause of the people against their exploiters—the cause for which he stands. And one of the main ways of doing so is to defend, support and build the Communist Party of the United States.

Says Browder:

"Our own ruling class can launch us into this war but they cannot end it. The American people can end it; the American people will end it, and the American people will find the way to this all the quicker because the American people have produced already a Communist Party, a party with roots among the masses, a party that can never be separated from the American masses, a party that will always be at work among the American masses, a party that will organize and lead the American people to peace and to socialism." *(The Way Out.")*

Here we have the role of the Communist Party in the life and struggles of the American people. And where does this role derive

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from? It derives from the fact that it is the vanguard party of the American working class, the class that is destined to head the American people—the nation—to peace, freedom and socialism. To the building of this party Earl Browder has been giving his all and his best. Let us do likewise.

From the very early days of our Party's history, Comrade Browder emphasized the idea that the most important avenues of approach to the masses are the progressive movements and organizations of labor. This idea was not always fully understood and accepted by the vanguard movements of the American working class, movements and groupings which were strongly permeated with narrow sectarian tendencies that were separating the vanguard elements from the broad masses and their daily struggles. One of Comrade Browder's great contributions to the labor movement of America and to our Party particularly has been precisely his successful struggle for the Lenin-Stalin idea that the way to make the Communist Party a true vanguard party of its class and people is to make it an organic and inseparable part of the progressive movements and organizations of the masses.

In association with William Z. Foster and his collaborators, the pioneers of modern class struggle trade unionism in the United States, Comrade Browder came forward to leadership as a revolutionary Socialist and militant, progressive trade unionist. Fighting reformism and class collaboration, both in the trade unions and in the Socialist Party, Comrade Browder was promoting the development of the progressive forces in the trade union movement and, at the same time, laying the foundations for the subsequent formation of the Communist Party, organized by the Left Wing of the Socialist Party headed by Ruthenberg and carrying forward the best proletarian and revolutionary traditions of Debs and Haywood.

Browder and Foster, the leaders of the Communist Party, were following the Lenin-Stalin method of struggle on two fronts. They fought reformism (Social-Democratism, class collaboration) and they fought against ultra-left "radicalism" and sectarianism. They fought against these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences in the working class because these militated against the development of proletarian class independence and organization, because they obstructed the growth of labor's class consciousness and leadership in the nation, because they—these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences—were hampering the crystallization of a true vanguard proletarian party, a party of the Bolshevik type. And when we reflect today on the powerful movements of organized labor in our country, increasingly and ever more deeply influenced by progressive trade unionism, we should know that into the making of them went also the struggles and organizing work led by Browder, Foster and their associates. And when we reflect on the significant role of the Communist Party in the present-day struggles of American labor and its allies, we should know that this be-

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came possible through the many years of struggle, led by Browder and Foster, for a party of a new type, a party grounded in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, a party inseparable from the masses and functioning as their true vanguard.

No less important are Comrade Browder's contributions to the building of the internal unity and Bolshevik integrity of our Party. This did not come by itself. It took long and hard struggles to bring it about—struggles against enemy influences of an ideological and political nature, against the disruptive and disintegrating work of enemy agents in our own midst (Lovestoneism, Trotskyism); and also struggles against factionalism and factional habits. It was in the struggle against all of these disruptive factors, against all opportunism (Right or "Left"), against every and all kind of bourgeois influence in our midst and for a consistent application of our principles and policies through the Stalin art of leadership that our Party was achieving its internal unity and Bolshevik integrity. Comrade Browder's leadership in this struggle, especially since 1930, when he became General Secretary of the Party and Comrade Foster became National Chairman of the Party, has written one of the finest chapters in the history of our Party and of the labor movement in the United States.

For it was particularly during this period that the Communist Party has made its most positive contributions thus far to the progressive development of the American working class and its allies. Learning from its own experiences, from its own serious achievements of the past as well as from its mistakes, and greatly enlightened by the experiences of the world labor movement and its Communist vanguard as interpreted and developed by Georgi Dimitroff, the Communist Party of the United States, headed by Browder and Foster, has been enabled to make significant and serious contributions to the advance of American labor to influence and leadership in the nation. And in doing so, the Party has been fighting as a true vanguard of its class and people, and the Party's leader, Comrade Browder, became a leader of the American people.

When, therefore, we reflect today upon the fact that the relatively small Communist Party of the United States is successfully forging ahead to leadership in the anti-war struggles of the American people, despite great obstacles and persecutions, we should know that the basis for this was laid by the Party's contributions to the progressive mass movements in the many years prior to the outbreak of the war. The basis was laid in the Party's struggles for progressive trade unionism and the organization of the unorganized, for working class political independence in alliance with all working people, for the maintenance and preservation of world peace through the building of the people's and democratic front to resist aggression, for support to the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial and dependent countries, for active support to the peace policies of the Soviet Union. In all of

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these struggles our Party has left an indelible mark upon the mass movements, and so did the Party's leader, Earl Browder, whose fiftieth birthday we are now celebrating.

Building the Party by rooting it among the masses, Browder always gave great prominence to the principles of working class internationalism. In his own work and struggles, he gave daily expression to these principles, in pursuit of which he rendered valuable service to the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people, the Spanish people, the peoples in Latin America. In all these countries, which he personally visited and in which he worked, Browder's name stands for *the true America,* the America of the people, as against the American imperialist exploiters and oppressors—the Rockefellers, Morgans, Fords and their governmental agents. To the masses of China, Spain and Latin America Browder is the embodiment of all their best hopes and aspirations—the collaboration of the American people with the colonial and dependent peoples, in fraternal solidarity with the great Soviet Union, hand in hand with the peace movements in all capitalist countries, in the historic struggle for peace, national independence and freedom. Browder belongs to the masses of these countries just as he belongs to the masses of the American people—because he is a Communist, a consistent working class internationalist, a disciple and loyal follower of the great Stalin.

The masses in the United States are becoming ever more fully acquainted with Browder's brilliant interpretations and popularizations of the socialist achievements of the Soviet Union and of its peace policies. That his leadership in this major field of struggle has contributed much to the growth of the peace movements and to the spreading influence of the Communist Party is a fact well known. It has also greatly contributed to the building and strengthening of our Party. That is why the spreading, study and mastery of Browder's works and writings—the teachings of Lenin and Stalin—are of such great political importance, not alone for Communists but for every opponent of the imperialist war, for all sincere fighters in the progressive causes of the masses.

Thus we shall be appropriately celebrating the fiftieth birthday of our party's leader, of the anti-war leader of the American people whom the ruling class has placed in Atlanta Penitentiary. We shall do so in accordance with the plan of the National Committee of the Communist Party: through huge mass meetings, by building the circulation of the *Daily Worker,* by spreading and mastering Browder's teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by recruiting new thousands of members into the Communist Party and strengthening it all along the line. This will be our best birthday gift to Browder. This we shall do in the process of intensifying the struggle for the defense of the economic standards and democratic liberties of the people, in the daily struggle against the imperialist war and for a people's peace, in the struggle for the immediate and unconditional liberation of Browder.

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EARL BROWDER AND THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE experience of the past several years shows that, beyond all doubt, the overwhelming mass of the American people are resolutely opposed to fascism and war. Whenever the issue of fascism has stood out clearly and sharply, the great majority of our people have categorically condemned it and, as regards the present imperialist war, their opposition to it is so steadfast that, as every poll of popular opinion demonstrates, it has not been broken down, even by the tremendous barrage of pro-war propaganda to which they have been subjected.

Nevertheless, although they are so generally and deeply opposed to fascism and war, the masses have not understood clearly the way to combat the insidious approaches of this twin menace. Consequently, they have been misled by the camp of warmongers slickly parading under slogans of peace and national defense and by fascist-minded reactionaries operating under the mask of democracy and Socialism. As a result, the people's fight for peace and democracy has by no means developed its great potentialities.

Setting the pace in this pro-war demagogy is the Roosevelt Administration, supported by Willkie and the bulk of the Republicans. Under cover of a great to-do about democracy and peace, Roosevelt is unblushingly obeying the dictates of Wall Street, forcing the country into the war and slashing the people's living standards to make them pay for it. With unparalleled demagogy and hypocrisy, the present Administration has taken step after step into the war, in spite of the anti-war attitude of the people—all done under the pretext of keeping the country out of the war. Roosevelt, who notoriously cherishes the ambition of writing his name down in American history as a great liberal President, is instead, in order to force the unwilling American people into this war, piling up a record as the most reactionary President this country has yet known.

The social-reformist leadership is doing its full part to involve the United States in the war and to facilitate the fascist-like reaction accompanying it. The A. F. of L. Executive Council and the Hillman forces in the C.I.O., blithely mouthing the British tory slogan that this is a war against fascism, are all out for the Administration's war program—in the name, of course, of peace, democracy and national defense. The Social-Democratic Federation leads the pack in openly whooping it up for the war. The Socialist Party, with its leader, Norman Thomas, supporting all-aid-

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to-Britain and the project of an anti-Soviet war, is unable to hide its pro-war position behind its fig-leaf of isolationism. The recent split-off from the Socialist Party, Altman, Niebuhr & Co., together with a smattering of so-called liberals and renegade radicals, under the name of "Union for Democratic Action," have made their bid for services to the Administration's war program, adding to it a few radical phrases. The Lovestoneites have long since dissolved their discredited grouplet and gone over to the war party. And the degenerate Trotskyites, in their May Day manifesto, single out Hitler as the enemy to fight, let British and American imperialism escape condemnation, and virtually accept the war.

Meanwhile, the so-called isolationists are also maneuvering to confuse and defeat the peace-loving masses. The liberal wing of the America First Committee — the Nyes, Wheelers and LaFollettes —accept, although with some reservations, the Administration's aid-to-Britain policy, and their imperialist program, with hostility toward the Soviet Union and calling for the domination of Latin America, a course that is a sure road to war and reaction. The reactionary wing of the America First Committee, the Lindberghs, Hearsts, Coughlins, Johnsons, etc., are essentially fascist, mostly pro-Nazi, and their pretense of defending American peace and democracy is an utter sham.

In the midst of the drive of the United States Government, aided by many tricky pseudo-peace movements, to force the unwilling American people into the war, the Communist Party has stood out as the most clear-headed and resolute fighter for peace. It has militantly fought the warmongers of all stripes at every step of the road. And its most effective spokesman is its General Secretary, Earl Browder. His brilliant challenge to the warmakers, in so far as it has been reduced to cold type, is contained in his four latest books— *The People's Front* (1938). *Fighting for Peace* (1939), *The Second Imperialist War* (1940) and *The Way Out* (1941). These volumes—a running account in speeches, reports and articles of the developing war situation—constitute an enormously important historical documentation. They also comprise, as a whole, an anti-war policy which, if adopted by the American people, would have saved our country from its present critical situation.

The Struggle to Prevent the War

The Soviet Government, the Communist International and the Communist Parties the world over fought intelligently and resolutely to prevent the outbreak of the present, the second imperialist world war. As early as the summer of 1928 the Comintern, at its Sixth World Congress, in view of the gathering war clouds in Europe, made the fight against the war danger a central point on the congress agenda—an action for which it was denounced by liberals and Social-Democrats everywhere as conjuring up, for factional advantage, a non-existent peril of war.

The seizure of power in Germany by Hitler in 1933 obviously intensi-

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fied the war danger enormously; hence, the Soviet Government redoubled its efforts to preserve world peace. In 1934, joining the League of Nations, the U.S.S.R. sought to unite the democratic peoples in common action to hold the aggressors in check. In the ensuing years it condemned the aggressions of Germany, Italy and Japan in Spain, China and Ethiopia, and strove diligently to create an international peace front on the basis of collective security. But the imperialist governments of England, France and the United States wanted no part of this policy. They desired, instead, a strong Hitler, to stem the revolutionary forces in Europe, and as a check upon, if not the destroyer of, the rapidly growing Soviet Union. Therefore, supported by the Social-Democrats, they followed their "appeasement" policy, with the fatal results now apparent to all. Its peace proposals rejected, and a war between the great imperialist powers having become inevitable, the U.S.S.R., by its non-aggression pact with Germany in August, 1939, stepped out of the line of fire. Unable to preserve world peace, the Soviet Union decided to avoid the role of catspaw for imperialism and at least to keep its own people out of the war.

The proposal of the Soviet Government to preserve world peace by a policy of collective security was manifestly in the interest of the American people, as well as of all other peoples. Hence the Communist Party of the United States, with Browder at its head, militantly supported this program of the international peace front. The great crime of the Roosevelt Administration against the American people, against the peoples of the world, was that it failed to collaborate with the U.S.S.R. in its resolute fight for peace, that it followed in the main a parallel policy to that of British imperialism. Thereby Roosevelt assumed major responsibility for the present murderous war.

Browder made a brilliant effort to awaken the American people to the vital importance to them of the international peace front as the way to prevent the outbreak of the present world war. The slogan he formulated—Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World, —was of historical importance. As no one else, Browder demonstrated that catastrophic consequences were inherent in the dastardly "non-intervention" policy in Spain, which gave Hitler and Mussolini a free hand to help Franco, while it denied the Loyalist Government access to arms. Browder, too, showed the folly of permitting Mussolini to overrun Ethiopia, and of giving Japan the munitions without which she would have been handicapped in the war on China. Browder's writings in this period, utilizing many precedents and traditions of our national life, teem with searching analyses and clear warnings of the disasters to come if the reactionary policies of Chamberlain, Blum and Roosevelt were continued.

Today the war implications of the infamous Munich agreement between Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier to dismember Czechoslovakia are generally recognized. But, at the time, this monstrous betrayal of peace and democ-

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racy was hailed by liberals and Social-Democrats as insuring world peace. The Communists, however, in the face of bitter attacks from such people, denounced the Munich Pact in unmeasured terms as an incitement to war. Characteristically, the French Communist Party Parliamentary Group, on October 4, only a few days after the signing of the pact, vigorously condemned the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and European peace. Commenting upon this, Comrade Browder, who was then in Paris, cabled the *Daily Worker*, on October 7, that the so-called peace of Munich was but a false peace, one which "can only be maintained by constantly more rapid surrender of the whole world to fascist dictatorship." A few weeks later, on November 14, speaking in New York, Browder declared that "The Munich pact was a treacherous betrayal of the republic of Czechoslovakia. But it was also far more than that. It opened the floodgates of reaction over Europe." The outbreak of the war, only nine months later, showed, all too soon, the correctness of Browder's analysis.

The Fight to Prevent American Entry Into the War

The beginning of the war in the fall of 1939 confronted the peace-loving masses of the United States with a new phase of anti-war struggle, namely, to keep the United States from becoming involved in the imperialist slaughter. Roosevelt, who, in connection with Spain, China, Ethiopia and the peace front proposed by the Soviet Union, had refused to take any steps to secure world peace, began quickly to orientate American policy toward participation in the war on the side of Great Britain. Coming forth boldly as the spokesman of American imperialism and casting aside his previous New Deal program of reform, Roosevelt, to the growing applause of Wall Street, started systematically to develop an all-out "defense" with a view to the major war aims of American imperialism, including complete domination over Latin America, grabbing Canada and other remnants of the decaying British empire, seizing as much as possible of the Far East, preventing the victory of German imperialism, and, if possible, developing a general capitalist war against the Soviet Union.

This ambitious foreign policy strives for the conquest of world hegemony by American imperialism. The effort to realize it requires this country's full participation in the war, the maximum militarization of the American people, and the drastic reduction of the living standards of the masses and suppression of civil liberties. All these aims and implications of the program of American imperialism Roosevelt fully accepts. But to accomplish them has not been easy, because of the American people's stubborn refusal to accept the war as "the struggle to defend humanity, democracy, civilization and American national independence."

Consequently, to force the unwilling country into the war, the government and the warmongers generally have had to resort to the greatest campaign of trickery and deceit in the history of this coun-

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try. Every conceivable device has been used to edge the United States into the war and to condition the people to accept as inevitable our entry into belligerency. With ever more bellicose slogans—"we are not neutral in thought," "all measures short of war," "full aid to Great Britain," "a bridge of ships to Great Britain," and "to make the United States into the arsenal of democracy," while cloaking itself with protestations of peaceful intentions, the Government has taken step after step deeper into the war. Cunningly, deliberately, it has inched its way toward the abyss. The lifting of the arms embargo, military conscription, the transfer of "obsolete" airplanes and destroyers to Britain, the seizure of Axis ships in American harbors, the mutual defense pact with Canada, the seizure of Greenland, the establishment of air bases in British colonies and Latin American countries, the passage of the "Lend-Lease" Act, the setting up of the patrol system, the studied hostility toward the Soviet Union, the growing assaults upon the civil rights of the people and the elaborate schemes to transfer the burden of the war costs to the masses—are all definitely war acts, and were so conceived by the Roosevelt Administration.

The Communist Party, led by Browder, has militantly fought every step of this drive by the Roosevelt-Wall Street Administration to push the peace-minded American people into the war. Undoubtedly, in the years to come, when the folly and criminality of the present war become so clear that all can see it, the war policy of the Roosevelt Administration will stand out as perhaps the greatest crime ever committed against the American people by its government and the ruling class. And it will be to the lasting prestige of the Communist Party with Browder as its head, that it has thoroughly understood the war program of the government, disguised though it has been by a thick mantle of peace propaganda, and has actively opposed every phase of its unfoldment.

Within the narrow compass of this article it is quite impossible to do justice to the work of Comrade Browder in the historic fight of the American people to keep the United States cut of the war. His writings and speeches in this period constitute penetrating analyses and exposures of the innumerable tricks and devices that have been used by the government to deceive the American people and to get the country into the war. Throughout the struggle, Browder has taken the lead in exposing the imperialist character of the war, and its origins in the decaying, moribund capitalist system, in pointing out the warlike character of Roosevelt's so-called measures "short of war," in mobilizing the workers to defend their economic standards and civil rights, in explaining to the masses that the road to peace and prosperity for the American people lies in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other democratic peoples. One of the many outstanding contributions of Browder during this period was his exposure of the Roosevelt-Willkie conspiracy to keep the peace issue out of the recent national elections. Browder's denunciation of the

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peace-shouting Willkie as a warmonger has been strikingly borne out by the latter's present jingoistic course in demanding convoys to Britain.

The resistance of the American people to involvement in the imperialist war—although it has been marked by much ideological confusion among the masses regarding Great Britain's role in the war and misunderstanding as to the basic war character of the aid-to-Britain policy, and although it has not prevented the Government from plunging the country deeper and deeper into the war—nevertheless constitutes the greatest single struggle ever conducted by the great masses of the people against their exploiters. It has had an enormous educational and organizational effect upon the toiling masses. It has been carried on in the face of unprecedented betrayal by venal leaders of political, trade union, farm, and other mass organizations. And in this great fight no man has more ably and loyally defended the cause of the people than has Earl Browder.

The Fight for a People's Peace

The Roosevelt Administration, despite the peace wishes of the mass of the people, has already deeply involved this country in the war as a military ally of Great Britain and with diabolical cunning it is now taking one step after another to make us into a full-fledged belligerent. The fight of the people, therefore, against this final plunge into the war still goes on. But more and more the anti-war struggle now enters a third stage—the fight for a just and lasting world peace, for a people's peace to end the present slaughter.

In the first world war the capitalist warmakers held forth many illusory peace hopes before the masses as the war dragged on its gory existence. Wilson proclaimed that it was the war to end all war and that his fourteen points would provide the basis for the organization of a free and democratic world; Lloyd George declared that postwar England would be a place fit for heroes to live in; and the powerful Social-Democracy in the European belligerent countries talked of the socialism that it would build when the war was over.

All these promises came to naught, however, as the people now well realize. Instead of a democratic world, we have one ravaged by fascism; instead of lasting peace, we have a still more dreadful war. In view of these fatal failures of capitalism, following the last war, to establish either peace or democracy, it is difficult, this time, for the warmongers to convince the people that these goals can be achieved through this war. This does not, however, deter them from trying again to deceive the people. Once again we hear the slogans of the capitalist governments on both sides about freedom and peace and national security. But they all sound very hollow and stale. Great Britain and the United States do not even dare state their war aims; the fascist New Order stands clearly exposed as a regime of permanent terror and war; and as for the Social-Democrats, one would have to be a political novice to be fooled by their

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feeble talk about the socialism they say they will construct after the war, after the victory of their imperialist masters.

If there is to be a just and lasting peace following this war it must be a people's peace. That is, the great democratic masses of the world must take the matter in hand themselves, in opposition to their warmongering capitalist rulers. The road to the accomplishment of this is the formation of vast popular fronts in the various countries and by joint action internationally with the Soviet Union, the peoples of China, India, Latin America and other lands, the oppressed peoples of the occupied countries, the awakening workers of the world. Only by the decisive action of these great popular forces can a democratic peace be achieved. The havoc and devastation of the war are gradually but surely laying the basis for such action by the harassed millions of the earth.

In the fight to prepare for a people's peace to end the present war Comrade Browder distinguished himself no less than in other phases of the anti-war struggle. As no other man in this country, he punctured the peace illusions now being fostered by the capitalists and their Social-Democratic tools. This is attested to by Browder's brilliant attacks upon the New Order of Hitler, the hypocritical war aims of the Anglo-American alliance, the encroachment of American imperialism upon Latin America, the "Union Now" scheme of the British-American imperialists, the "revolution by consent" theories of the British Social-Democrats, and the subservicency of the Greens, Hillmans, Dubinskys, et al, to the war ideology of American finance capital. One of the last things Browder did before being jailed was to write his powerful attack upon Henry Luce's imperialist theory of the "American century," showing how disastrous it would be for our people to follow any such imperialist will-o-the-wisp.

On the other hand, if Browder ably attacked the current bourgeois peace demagogy, he no less capably pointed out the true path to peace. His writings abound with theoretical and practical guidance for building the united front of the working class, the people's front of the great masses, the establishment of peace and cooperation among the democratic peoples of the world. Especially did Browder analyze and popularize the socialist achievements of the Soviet Union, the hope of a war-stricken world.

The People's Tribune Jailed

It is an incontestable fact that the peace struggle conducted by the Communist Party, with Earl Browder as its outstanding spokesman, dovetailed, not only with the true interests of the American people, but also with their outspoken desires.

Regarding Spain, for example, repeated popular polls at the time showed that the great majority of the American people were against Franco and favored permitting the Loyalist Government to purchase arms in this country, as was its legal right under international law, and as the Communist Party urged. Yet the Roosevelt government violated

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the will of the American people, applied the arms embargo, and helped Hitler, Mussolini and their stooge Franco toward their fateful victory.

In the case of China, too, the American people have always, with virtual unanimity, favored helping the nationalist forces, as the Communist Party proposed; but Roosevelt has nevertheless continued to furnish Japan with the munitions without which it could not have carried on its invasion of China.

Similarly, in the matter of the international peace front proposed by the Soviet Union to check aggression, there can be no doubt that the American people, like those of every other capitalist country, were in favor of it and would have backed it. But again Roosevelt successfully violated the people's will, and helped defeat this historic plan, with the present war as its tragic result.

And as for the financial side of Roosevelt's war policy, that is, making the masses carry the economic burden of the war, unquestionably the great masses of our people favor the Communist Party's program of placing the war costs upon the rich. If the Roosevelt Administration has been able to involve the country in the war in spite of the people's will for peace, it has been by systematically violating their peace mandate, by deluding them with an unprecedented deluge of lying propaganda that makes war policies look like peace policies, and by utilizing faithless reformist trade union, farm organization and "liberal" leaders to betray their followers into the hands of the imperialist warmongers.

Earl Browder led the Communist Party's fight to prevent this historic betrayal of the American people by the Wall Street-Roosevelt Administration and its many misleaders in the ranks of the masses. For this true service to our people Browder is thrown into jail for four years—and upon such a flimsy pretext as to make every honest non-Communist blush with shame.

Browder's able fight was a thorn in the side of the warmakers. It made much more difficult their work of confusing the people and forcing them into the war. This militant champion of peace had to be gotten out of the way. Moreover, inasmuch as the present war can bring only hardship, misery and tyranny to the American people and as the mass resentment is bound to grow against the men who are responsible for dragging them into it, the warmongers do not want the powerful voice of Browder to be heard when the people's anger begins to rise.

Browder opposed the first World War as a criminal imperialist slaughter and he was jailed for this offense against imperialism. But, long since, the American people have come to understand that the war was a useless one, that they were tricked into it. And already they know that the present war is not their war and they want nothing to do with it. More and more the rising mass demand for the release of Browder will show the growing appreciation of the correctness of his and the Communist Party's position in condemning this war as being against the basic interests of the American people.

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EARL BROWDER—TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE

BY ROBERT MINOR

EARL BROWDER is the leader of the Communist Party, brought forward by the turn of history of the working class and the country in the beginning of the economic crisis in 1930. Browder became the embodiment of the needs of the Communist Party turning away from sectarianism and toward the struggles of the masses, the embodiment of the conscious course of the working class in the great crisis. The choice of Browder as General Secretary of the Communist Party was the act of sweeping out the opportunist, sectarian rubbish unconsciously retained in the heritage from the old Socialist Party, and tolerated during the "boom" period of post-war imperialism. A turn to the masses, made imperative by the economic cataclysm of 1929-30, could be accomplished only with the uprooting of this poisonous fungus growth. In the struggle of the Communist Party to rid itself of these elements of conscious imperialist corruption, the Party found its greatest strength and clarity in the leadership of Earl Browder. Browder became the necessary center of gravity of all of the leadership of the Communist Party for a unity of the Party which had never previously been attained; disunity had been an inevitable result of the heritage of sectarianism, expressed in unprincipled factional struggles.

Browder's leadership of the Party is not to be confused with the vulgar bourgeois conception of leadership of a single individual. The important aspect of his leadership is found precisely in his ability to unify the leadership of the Party, to generate the type of collective leadership without which a Party cannot be a Communist Party. The commencement of Browder's office as General Secretary of the Party was not only the beginning of a period of growth of the Party to eight times its former size within ten years, but also is connected with his capacity to unify and develop and renew the leadership of the Party.

Browder became a leader through whom for the first time leadership of the masses tended to become identified with the leadership of the Party. Browder came to be regarded not only as a leader of the Party but also as a leader of the people, what Lenin called "a Tribune of the People."

Lenin once said:

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"Not a single class in history has ever achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organize a movement and lead it." (*Selected Works,* Vol. II, p. 13. International Publishers, New York.)

With all that, every single member of the Communist Party has a right to feel that he or she also shares in the honor due Comrade Browder, for the leadership of Browder is inseparable from the quality and greatness of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is not only *created* by such men as Browder, it also *creates* them. We are reminded of the words of Lenin about the German Socialist leader August Bebel:

". . . even Bebel could not become Bebel without long Party work in the construction of a real Social-Democratic representation. Don't say to us: 'in our fraction we have no Bebels.' One cannot be born a Bebel. It is necessary to be made into a Bebel. Bebels don't spring ready-made like Minerva from the forehead of Jupiter, but are made by the Party and the working class."

In this sense we can proudly say that Earl Browder is not only the best leader of the Communist Party but that also there could be no Browder without the Communist Party.

The love of the workers for Earl Browder is an expression of their consciousness of the historic role of the working class, and their pride in this role, and their resolute will to carry it through. To a much greater degree than many people realize, Browder succeeds in assimilating for the working class the best historic traditions of the great American Revolutions of 1776 and 1861, while bringing to consciousness the distinct role of the modern working class and the socialist revolution. Browder becomes thereby a stimulator of the self-confidence of the working class and its identification of its own cause and its own victory with the necessary historic course of the nation.

The mistake of Roosevelt and his Attorney General Jackson lies in their belief that the course of the working class in relation to their effort to carry our country through a prolonged world war can be changed by the imprisonment of this best and foremost leader of the Communist Party, whom they rightly feel to be the strongest leader of the people against their imperialist war.

If the Communist Party were like the opportunist-built and controlled Socialist Party of 1918 it could be emasculated and its will to struggle against the war could be broken by the imprisonment of its leader, somewhat as the resolve of the masses of the Socialist Party to opposition to the first World War was crippled and made ineffective by the imprisonment of the grand old fighter Eugene Debs by Woodrow Wilson and A. Mitchell Palmer.

On the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism Browder built a different kind of Party. The imprisonment of Browder must and will, and has already begun to show how even such a damaging attack upon the workers can be turned against the enemies of the workers. Because the leadership of Browder expresses and accomplishes the construction

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of a *Communist* Party, and not a party of the Social-Democratic type, this Party will answer the attack by strengthening itself.

The decisive thing is the rapidity and thoroughness of the extension of the organization of the workers, and their ideological and organizational consolidation and clarification in the struggle against a war that is directed against the people's interests.

But the whole of this struggle in the interest of the masses is inconceivable and impossible of success unless it includes a bold and far-flung struggle for the release of the best fighter in the struggle against war, the tribune of the people who is a hostage of the war party—Earl Browder.

We are absolutely confident that the workers can and will accomplish his release.

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HOW TO FREE EARL BROWDER

BY ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THREE months ago our beloved leader, Earl Browder, was snatched from our midst and imprisoned in Atlanta penitentiary. His sentence is for the duration of the Roosevelt Administration—four years. The flower of fascism bloomed in the spring on the banks of the Potomac, along with the Japanese cherry trees. Its first bitter fruit, true to its European prototype, is an attack upon the Communist Party. A second crop, as we have clearly warned, is an attack on civil liberties in general and organized labor in particular. Under the pretext of "wartime emergency" the 1941 Congress is grinding out a plethora of repressive legislation. Poll-tax Congressmen from eight states, where ten million of the electorate are disfranchised, head all important committees, and are geared to outlaw strikes, to maintain the open shop, to "freeze" wages and working conditions. The Vinson Bill, opposed by both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., is the high peak of such anti-union legislation. The Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill provides "detention for non-citizens ordered deported but whose deportation cannot be effected."

Thus on American soil the shameful set-up of concentration camps is demanded by this poll-tax Congressman from Alabama. The tradition of political asylum is as old as our country and gave our ancestors refuge. Knowing full well that the conditions in war-torn Europe and the political status of many residents make deportation a death sentence and imprisonment here a life sentence, this sadistic Bourbon presses for the passage of his monstrous bill.

These and similar manifestations of home-grown fascism—such as Mrs. Roosevelt's charming plan to relieve the sweethearts of the draftees from loneliness by conscripting them at forced labor for $21 per month—slap the American people in the face daily. Uncertain of her public, she warns: "I can hear some of my young friends, particularly those influenced by *certain political beliefs*, bringing up the question as to why this year's service should be compulsory. They would claim that this is a fascist or Nazi scheme leading us straight to the system of German work camps." (*Italics ours—E.G.F.*) She blandly assures her critics that it is like the public school system—that com-

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pulsion is democracy. With over nine million unemployed in America, jobs in hospitals, clinics, school lunchrooms, vegetable gardens are to be done by drafted young women at scab wages. Thus the bitter fruit of fascism is dressed up like a sacrificial offering for the *Ladies Home Journal*. Puzzled mothers undoubtedly ask: "First the boys go for $21 a month. Now the girls must go, too! Where are we going—to the poor house?"

The pattern of Adolf Hitler has become a blueprint for American capitalism, as it became in France and under the same guise—preparing to fight Hitler. There the best of the anti-Nazi, anti-fascist forces were exiled leaders of the Communist Parties of Germany, Italy, Spain and Czechoslovakia, who had escaped the hangman's noose and the guillotine. On the declaration of war these heroic refugees were thrown into concentration camps, as "alien enemies." Many died. Some were killed, resisting deportation back to torture and death. Members of the International Brigade are held in unspeakably vile camps. As a preliminary to capitulation to Hitler, the Communist Party of France was outlawed and its elected Deputies imprisoned.

Ernst Thaelmann, Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany, is imprisoned by Hitler. Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., is imprisoned here, by the Roosevelt Administration—a thought-provoking parallel to the American people. Both are long-standing and courageous fighters against the Nazis and the fascists and were when those who today pose as Hitler's "enemies" were his abject appeasers.

Labor unions were smashed long ago in Germany; their officials are dead or in prison. Similar procedure is planned here shortly, if Congress has its way. Undoubtedly every poll-tax Congressman from the South, plus more than a few kindred spirits from other sections, would fight for the pleasure of locking up John L. Lewis and throwing the key away for the next four years. Concentration camps for foreign, minority, and labor groups is a Nazi pattern. So is compulsory labor for women in work camps, as many observers, including Dorothy Thompson, have stressed.

Many American capitalists have expressed their admiration for Hitler. Others barely conceal their concurrence and would gladly emulate him. Lindbergh is the open face of this group. But is Mr. Knudsen cleansed of his admiration of the "miracle man"? "America must fight fascism," they say openly. So we must become fascist, they say in effect, in their inner councils and more boldly every day. Fight fire with fire! Throw America into the holocaust!—this is their crude and cruel prescription. Anything to save their putrid profit system! Anything to extend their imperialist markets! Anything to be in on the kill and division of the loot when other imperialist groups totter and crumble! Anything to ward off the day of reckoning, when an aroused American people will say to the capitalist class: "You have been tried in the balance and found wanting. We'll take over now!"

Because our beloved Comrade

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Browder is the most eloquent, articulate, persuasive and convincing speaker to and for the American people at this time, best personifying the struggle for peace and against fascism, his voice was silenced, his pen was halted, his activities cut off. A mean, petty pretext which fooled no one was resorted to by this cowardly administration.

When that other great leader of the people, Eugene V. Debs, was arrested in 1918, it was over one year after war had been declared, and he was then accused openly of opposition to the war program of the United States. He was not imprisoned on a subterfuge charge. This gave him a magnificent opportunity to speak to the entire country, the world in fact, through his two-hour address to the jury. He was able, like our brave Comrade Dimitroff on trial in Germany years later, to make a historic political defense in court, and expose the enemies of the people. He earned the vindictive personal hatred of Woodrow Wilson, who allowed this frail old man to go to Atlanta Penitentiary, sentenced to ten years, *five months after the Armistice had been signed.* Wilson declared that as long as he was in the White House Debs would stay in prison.

The answer of indignant American people in 1920 was nearly a million votes for Debs as Presidential candidate while his eloquent voice was silenced in a cell. A tremendous mass movement for his release and that of all other political prisoners developed in the United States to such proportions that finally foxy old Samuel Gompers trekked to see Debs and then to the White House. He wanted to take the credit for Debs' release. Two years after Debs entered prison he was released by President Harding, thanks to *"The court of last resort—the people,"* Debs had said when his sentence was affirmed by the Supreme Court, *"They will be heard from in due time."*

The similar vindictive determination which the present war administration displays to keep Earl Browder in the same prison and for the same reasons will evoke similar mass support for Comrade Browder, once the facts are brought to the American people, as they were in regard to Debs. Let us press the question, why did they not try Browder for his political utterances, as they did Debs? Apparently at one time they contemplated doing so. We recall that after Comrade Browder spoke in Boston there was great excitement in the press. An unofficial spokesman, "close to the President," said in an interview from Hyde Park that an investigation was under way to determine if Browder was guilty of treason, sedition or what not. What was the questionable quotation from Comrade Browder's speech? He had said, speaking of the ruling class:

"They know that America itself, despite the political backwardness as yet of our working class, is technically, objectively, the country which is the most ripe, the most prepared, for a quick transition to socialism, for which it lacks only the understanding and the will of the masses to that goal." *

* *The Second Imperialist War,* International Publishers, New York, pp. 153-154.

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The Squire of Hyde Park was disturbed by the suggestion of a quick transition to socialism. For the eight years past he had tried to give the depressed capitalist system blood transfusions of the New Deal to save it from collapse. Then the patient cursed the doctor. Now he has shifted to injections of war orders, shooting its blood pressure sky high. But since the "shots in the arm" give the old system dreams of expansion, conquest and prosperity for profiteers, he is no longer a "traitor to his class." Another world savior of capitalism is sitting in the chair of destiny once occupied by Woodrow Wilson. And like the famous schoolmaster he cannot brook opposition.

"After us the deluge!" is no poetic phrase but a constant nightmare for those who undertake the herculean task of keeping capitalism on its feet. That's why they have insomnia, as Comrade Browder remarked in his farewell speech. Earl Browder sleeps serenely in his narrow cot in a prison cell because he does know the American people. He is flesh of their flesh. Their thoughts are not secret to Browder. He knows that once his fellow countrymen are fully aware that fascism in all its evil forms is the last foul spawn of capitalism they will not tolerate its insidious growth in our country.

The Roosevelt Administration did not try Earl Browder for the real charge against him—that he advocates socialism as a better way of life than capitalism and as the only social order capable of establishing peace, security and happiness for all the people. They did not want a political trial, where Earl Browder could broadcast the views of his party, the Communist Party, all over America. They did not want Browder to speak to the American people for peace and socialism, as Debs did. So they substituted an obscure red-tape technicality.

Our responsibility is to speak for Browder to the American people. The more widespread and effectively we do this, the sooner a tremendous mass pressure for his unconditional release will assert itself. We must flood the country with literature, such as Comrade Browder's last book, *The Way Out,* and the Dean of Canterbury's book, *Soviet Power*;* and with leaflets which expose the real purposes behind the hand picked "blue ribbon" jury's conviction of Earl Browder.

The American people will appreciate the accuracy of Comrade Browder's own estimate of the Supreme Court's decision against him when he quoted Abraham Lincoln's biting comment on the Dred Scott decision: "It is as thin as homeopathic soup made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that starved to death." We must expose the harassing, sniping tactics against the Communist Party, the excessive bail, the expensive, long-drawn-out trials, the unheard of "compliance bail" which keeps twenty-nine of our most active members in jail in Western Pennsylvania; the heavy fines and costs levied in all cases; the revival of obsolete criminal syndicalism laws in Oklahoma and the brutal ten-year sentences in-

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flicted upon our comrades, Wood, Shaw and Jaffee.

The Communist Party is the acid test of the right of any minority party to challenge the Siamese-twin party system, which, Janus-faced, shouts for war today. To free Browder, we must defend our Party. To free Browder, we must preserve our press. To free Browder, we must build our Party and expand our press. To free Browder, we must resist every attempt to deprive our Party of its legal existence and lawful rights. To free Browder, we must intensify the struggle against the imperialist war, we must increase the work of our Party a thousandfold. We cannot fill Comrade Browder's place. We must restore him to his place. Let us express our deep love and admiration for him as a comrade, friend and leader, let us express our unbounded contempt and opposition to the Roosevelt Administration's attempt to gag and bind him, by carrying on his work to the very best of our ability. Let us now work unceasingly to bring his message to the American people and thereby build a mighty movement to return him to his family, his Party and the people. In working to free Earl Browder we are working to free the American people.

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BROWDER SHOWS THE WAY OUT

BY ROY HUDSON

MILLIONS of Americans have already awakened to the fact that against their will, and through false promises, lies and subterfuges, they have been led down the bloody path of imperialist war. Tomorrow tens of millions will awaken to the sad realities of their plight. And like their brothers and sisters in other lands that have been engulfed in this second world imperialist war, they will want to know how, by whom, and for what purpose they have been thrust into the valley of destruction. And above all, they will search for the way out. This is why Comrade Browder's latest book, *The Way Out,* is without doubt the most important book that has appeared in this country since the outbreak of the war.

The fact that the author of this book, which is already a "best seller," is today behind prison bars because of his leadership in the people's struggle against the war, only emphasizes its importance to the people. Wall Street and the Roosevelt Administration who have imprisoned the leader of the Communist Party in an effort to silence his voice, to rob the American people of his active leadership in these crucial days, have only underscored the significance of this book, and have given it a recommendation beyond anything which we can give.

A bourgeois commentator who evidently could not forego the urge to be "clever" found it a rather humorous coincidence that Comrade Browder, with the prison door about to close on him, titled his book *The Way Out.* Little did he understand that just as the dark forces who have catapulted the American people into the war have as part of their war plans snatched Comrade Browder from our midst, so the people in their struggle for a way out of the bloody holocaust will, also as part of this struggle, open the doors to freedom for Comrade Browder. And Comrade Browder's *The Way Out* will be a powerful instrument in the hands of the American people to achieve both peace and the release of Comrade Browder.

* * *

Like all his previous books *The Way Out*—his sixth—is not a work written "on order" by the publishers, to satisfy some urge to write, or some academic study. Like most of the works of great leaders of the working class and people's

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movements, and in the best traditions of Lenin and Stalin, this book is the product of the struggle itself, the expression of Comrade Browder's role and leadership in these struggles. It is written for, about, and in the heat of the battle. This latest volume is a collection of reports, speeches and articles covering the period from May, 1940, to February, 1941, ten months unfolding the most fateful developments in world history.

The Way Out is the greatest book that Comrade Browder has written thus far. But it at the same time serves to emphasize the imperative need that all his former works be studied most carefully by all Communists and by the most active forces of the workers' and people's movement. The six books of Comrade Browder, beginning with *Communism in the United States,* and followed chronologically by *What Is Communism?, The People's Front, Fighting for Peace, The Second Imperialist War,* and now *The Way Out,* cover a whole decade. This decade includes the collapse of the so-called Coolidge-Hoover "prosperity" with the great crash of 1929, the emergence of the "New Deal," and the beginning of the second imperialist war. It covers the rise of Nazism in Germany, the great struggle in Spain; the struggle for the independence of the Chinese people, and the emergence of the People's Front tactic as a major weapon in the people's struggle for peace, security and democracy. It covers the period of the successful building of socialism in the U.S.S.R., through the great Five-Year Plans, and the emergence of the U.S.S.R. as the most powerful country in the world. This period, which began with the American trade union movement at the lowest point in the post-War period, saw the rise of the great struggles of the unemployed, the organization of new millions of unorganized, the building of the C.I.O. This period saw the rise of a powerful movement for the rights of the Negro people, the increasing role of the Negro workers in the liberation struggles of the Negro people, the development of joint actions of Negro and white masses. It witnessed the cleansing of the Communist Party of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites; the development of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. from a small group with little contact with the masses into a relatively influential organization with deep roots among the masses, and with a clear Marxist-Leninist policy, discovering and making great use of the revolutionary traditions of the American people. It is the decade in which Comrade Browder has stood as the head of the Communist Party, its General Secretary.

The Way Out is the greatest work of Comrade Browder because it reflects and is the product of the growth of the labor and people's movements, of the growing influence of the Communist Party, to which Comrade Browder's contributions have been so great. A reflection of the dialectical interaction of men and events, it shows to what heights Comrade Browder has risen as a leader of the Communist Party and the American people, in the course of the last decade, and under the impact of the present crucial period in human history. A study

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of Comrade Browder's works will, to the vulgarizer and superficial observer, present zigzags in policy. This is how the bourgeois writers, Social-Democrats and renegades try to interpret his writings in their efforts to weaken his growing influence among the masses. But the honest worker, the student of Marxism-Leninism will see the inner connection of all his writings, his true Marxist-Leninist method, his application of theory to the study of actual events and the application of strategy and tactics to changing situations in the truest Marxist-Leninist spirit, that "theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action."

The Way Out—like the former writings of Comrade Browder, but even more so—while being a collection of reports, speeches and articles, dealing with current events, and giving direct answers to the immediate and most burning questions of the day, at the same time constantly refers to and elaborates on theoretical questions from which flow his analyses and conclusions. Moreover, it presents a profound adaptation to the American scene of theory in many phases of the struggle, enriching and adding to the vast treasures of Marxism-Leninism, in both the fields of theory and tactics.

I.

While covering the period beginning with May, 1940, already nine months after the beginning of the second imperialist war, the book opens with Browder's report to the Eleventh National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., which actually summarizes the whole previous period since the beginning of the war, a subject which is treated in greater detail in *The Second Imperialist War*. It thus makes it possible for those who have not read this earlier work to get a complete and rounded-out analysis of the character of the imperialist war, as well as of the tasks in the fight for peace. It also shows how American imperialism and the Roosevelt Administration, while trying to lull the masses into passivity with promises of "peace," had already determined from the very beginning to join the war on the side of British imperialism. To know and understand this and to make the masses understand it, is most important especially now, when the last steps are being taken toward full belligerency.

Comrade Browder in that report —in May, 1940—told us:

"And already the American bourgeoisie assumes, as a closed question, that this country is committed to one side of the imperialist rivalry, to the Allied camp, for good or evil, and to question the decision is already a form of treason. In the face of a popular will to keep out of the war, estimated at 96 per cent, the Roosevelt Administration, backed by the united economic royalists and their agents, is taking the country step by step into the war with a speed unexampled in all history, and with a boldness and cynicism that are quite breath-taking, worthy of Hitler himself." (*The Way Out*, p. 13.)

Today every honest person reading these lines will agree with this charge against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the Roosevelt Administration. But in May, 1940, when

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from Roosevelt down to every apologist for Wall Street, there were protestations that we were following a policy of "neutrality," of a "desire for peace," and that every new war measure taken by the Administration was really a measure to "keep us out of the war," these words were indeed words of great insight, sounding a badly needed warning to the people.

We also remember how the Hillmans, the "liberals" of the *Nation* and the *New Republic* were then assuring the people that Roosevelt would make possible "guns and *butter,*" that our liberties would remain intact. But Comrade Browder warned the country:

"War policy determines everything else. The American bourgeoisie cannot move toward entering the unpopular and imperialist war without, at the same time, making war against the living standards and civil rights of the masses at home, making war against the labor movement, wiping out progressive legislation, and establishing a more brutal dictatorship of monopoly capital over the daily life of the country." *(Ibid.)*

What happened since then again shows with what insight Comrade Browder foretold coming events. The capitalists are ever more determinedly trying to place the burden of the war cost on the people, through increased taxation on the low-income groups, through rising prices that enrich the monopolists and war profiteers, through forced "savings" and through a conscious policy to force curtailment of mass consumption. The masses are called upon to "sacrifice" while profits are going sky high. Similarly, the liberties of the people are being daily curtailed through legislation, and through executive orders, as well as through intimidation and extra-legal action. We now have military conscription. Five million foreign-born have been registered and fingerprinted. Never have we witnessed such interference with free elections as in the last Presidential campaign, which witnessed the re-election of President Roosevelt to a third term, for the first time in the history of the republic. Lynching and Jim Crowism have increased. Civil liberties are trampled under foot, with scores already filling the jails in Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, West Virginia and other states. The right to strike is under fire through state legislation, through the President's Mediation Board, and the threat of new Federal legislation.

And if matters have not come to a worse state of affairs it is only because the militant sections of the labor movement, the rising movement for peace, have resisted these attacks and are resisting today in ever greater numbers. And because Comrade Browder and his Party have pointed to the danger and warned the masses, that is why Comrade Browder and other Communists are behind prison bars, while the attacks against the Communist Party take on more and more the character of a general attack.

The key to an understanding of the tasks involved in the struggle against further involvement in and for the way out of the war, is of course to know first the character of the war and its causes. The

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Roosevelts, the Hillmans acting in the interests of monopoly capital, wish the masses to believe that this is a war for democracy, for civilization, against fascism and barbarism. The cause for this war they tell us is the character of the German people. Even those "liberals" who only yesterday condemned the last World War as a war for imperialism, for the interests of the capitalists of the various imperialist countries, are now throwing mud in their own faces, telling us that the last war was really a war to make the world safe for democracy, and that since the job was not finished then, it must be finished now. Let us see how Comrade Browder answers the question as to the character and the causes of the present world conflict:

"The present imperialist war is not a *repetition* of the imperialist World War of 1914-1918, but it is its *continuation*. It is the same in principle, in that it is the expression of the most profound contradictions of the capitalist system of society (in its imperialist stage of the dominance of monopoly capital); it is different, *inasmuch as it occurs after* the last World War with all its consequences, in a period of more profound crisis, with the forces of world capitalism much weaker, with the revolutionary anti-capitalist forces much stronger and more mature, and above all with the existence of the Soviet Union, a decisive and irrevocable break in the world system of capitalism. . . . Capitalism is itself the general underlying cause of the war." (*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.)

Quite naturally, the capitalists and their apologists wish to keep this truth from the masses. For, once the masses learn that it is capitalism itself, and not merely a Kaiser or a Hitler, or as some would have it, the German race, that is responsible for war, they will quickly put an end to both war and capitalism. And precisely for this reason *it is necessary that the masses do* learn the true cause of the war. It is especially urgent that the working class learn this truth. Comrade Browder does not limit himself to the statement of capitalist responsibility for the war. He analyzes the workings of imperialism, shows how the law of the uneven development of capitalism operated since the last war in deepening the contradictions among the various imperialist countries, how the general crisis of capitalism and the emergence of the Soviet Union have further served to deepen these contradictions, and how the Allies themselves helped to bring about and hasten the present war against themselves. He asks:

"How could German imperialism, defeated, prostrate and helpless after the last war, stage such a spectacular comeback in such a short time?" (*Ibid.*, p. 17.)

And he answers this question:

"The answer is to be found in two main factors: First, the contradictions and antagonisms among the victors in the last war flared up with new intensity when Germany was defeated, and among the leading powers themselves effectively prevented any common world policy; peace was not the first, but the last, consideration among them. Secondly, the fear of the working class, of the socialist revolution, and especially hatred of the Soviet Union was so deep and so overwhelming

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within the bourgeoisie, the ruling classes of the whole world, that it led them into fatal miscalculations, into policies that went bankrupt under the test of reality." *(Ibid.)*

It is important always to remember these antagonisms within the camp of the bourgeoisie, even among the so-called Allies and Axis powers and not only between these two camps. Without this one cannot understand the development that led up to Munich, the whole "appeasement" policy. Nor should it be forgotten that these antagonisms and contradictions between the imperialists of Britain and the U.S., as well as between Germany and Japan, continued to play an important role today, even as the U.S. and Britain are jointly fighting "for civilization" and while the Axis powers are fighting for their "new world order." Comrade Browder goes into great detail to prove his analysis. Here is what he has to say regarding the role of Great Britain:

"The British ruling class had collaborated with their German class brothers in bringing Hitler to power in Germany in order to crush the threatening German socialist revolution, to smash the German Bolsheviks. They were delighted with his performance, and encouraged German rearmament for the purpose of smashing the Soviet Union which Hitler had long boasted was his chief aim. For this the British and French bourgeoisie were actually happy to see Hitler building an army and piling up armaments. For this they were ready to make most serious concessions to Hitler's axis partners, Japan and Italy, sacrificing China and Ethiopia. For this they gave Mussolini and Hitler a free hand in Spain, to test out those engines of destruction which should later be thrown against the Soviet Union. For this they agreed to allow Hitler to guarantee his 'rear' through the fortification of the Rhineland. For this they sacrificed Austria and Czechoslovakia, with untold armaments and treasure. For this they dishonored and emasculated the League of Nations. For this they betrayed their own most solemn obligations and turned them into a mockery before all men. For this they delivered their own fate into the hands of Hitler." *(Ibid.,* p. 20.)

Comrade Browder then goes on to show that even after the war had broken out the British, French and the American imperialists did not give up their hopes and their intrigues to convert the "wrong war" into the "right war," into a war against the Soviet Union. Expectation and hope was heightened for them when they thought that Finland could be used as the springboard to accomplish this aim. We all still remember how the French shipped their best war material to the "democrat" Mannerheim, how President Roosevelt rushed in with loans and war material, how from Hoover to Norman Thomas they howled, they began their collections to help "brave little Finland." On this Comrade Browder says:

"During the period of hostilities in Finland, Allied-American grand strategy was reconstructed in terms of holding tight on the Western front, while active military measures were assigned to the 'Northern front' and the 'Southeastern front,' both of them capable of being directed against Germany or the So-

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viet Union, or both with equal facility. The plan was to move simultaneously on both fronts in May, in a pincers movement, which backed by the blockade and a solid Western front, would 'bring Hitler to his senses' and a quick peace, followed by a concerted drive against the Soviet Union, the 'right war' at last. The world shaking achievements of the Red Army in smashing the Mannerheim Line and the Soviet-Finnish peace on March 12, without precedent in the generosity of its terms, again shattered the reconstructed Allied strategy." *(Ibid.,* p. 28.)

How this "farsighted" policy of the Allies and their efforts to switch the "wrong war" into the "right war" turned out is very aptly described by Comrade Browder in the following words:

"Marking the close of the first phase of the war, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain speaking to Britain and the world uttered these historic words: 'Hitler has missed the bus.' The next day, the second phase of the war opened with the British mining the Norwegian territorial waters. Within six weeks German troops were within artillery range of the British shores." *(Ibid.,* p. 29.)

In answer to those who believe that a victory of British imperialism is to be preferred to a victory of German imperialism, Comrade Browder recites what happened after the end of the first world war. This is especially important because the Social-Democrats and liberals of all stripes, in order to ensnare the masses into the war, are playing the game of "admitting" the "sins" of British imperialism, but contending at the same time that a victory for Britain will be in the interests of the masses. He says:

"What reason is there to believe that an Allied victory will bring anything better than a German victory? Britain and France emerged the victors in 1918 . . . what kind of Europe and what kind of world did they produce? If the world is a bloody mess today that is the direct result of victory for the Allied powers in 1918. Have the British and French ruling classes shown any intelligence or morality since 1918 greater than before? On the contrary, they have shown even less. Have they shown any more ability? On the contrary, they display nothing but an abyss of incapacity, ineptitude and corruption. Are they any more 'democratic'? On the contrary they have leveled off the so-called democracies with the fascist regimes, so that there is no essential difference between them in their relationship to the masses. There is nothing to choose between the imperialist camps, for any support given to either means the surrender of the whole struggle for peace and a better world." *(Ibid.,* pp. 35-36.)

The way out for the masses, the road to peace and to a better world, Comrade Browder tells us, can only be found by the people through their own struggles:

"Only the peoples of the world, led by the working class, can bring peace and a better world, and that only through struggle and victory over *their own* imperialists and reactionaries." *(Ibid.,* p. 36.)

* * *

The Way Out is divided into three parts of approximately equal size. The report to the 11th National Convention from which all the

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above quotations are taken forms the major section of the first part. In addition there is the acceptance speech at the Nominating Convention—"A Platform for Peace," a speech to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a speech addressed to the middle classes—"The Middle Class and the War," and finally two most important documents, Comrade Browder's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Voorhis Registration Bill, and an article on the Pan-American Conference. These last two documents especially should be studied by every Communist and progressive. They furnish the key to understanding the events of today. They are an example of Comrade Browder's application of Marxism-Leninism to the problems facing the American people.

The article on the Pan-American Conference is of such importance that despite limited space, and the fact that the article forms an indivisible whole from which to extract quotations is difficult, we will venture to quote from it, in the hope that the reader will make a thorough study of the article in the light of recent developments within Latin America, and in the relations between the Latin American countries and the United States. The bourgeoisie, no matter what other differences, is united in its policy with regard to Latin America. From Lindbergh down to Norman Thomas, there is agreement on what is called "hemisphere defense," the Monroe Doctrine, etc., all of which form the cover for American imperialist policy in Latin America. When one reads this article one also understands why it is that among the masses in Latin America there was such an outburst of protest against the imprisonment of Browder. Here are some of Comrade Browder's observations:

"Certainly there are common interests of the peoples of the twenty-one American republics; equally certain it is that these common interests are placed in jeopardy by the chaotic world conditions. . . .

"How is it possible that German influence can become the central issue within a conference of the twenty-one American republics?

"There are two chief factors which make this possible. They are, first, the conflicting interests between the Government of the United States, on the one hand, which reflect the interests of United States finance capital, and the Latin American ccuntries, on the other hand, whose governments reflect interests within their own countries in conflict with the aims and policies of Washington. Second, there is a broad range of differences and conflicts within Latin America itself, which are more or less clearly reflected in their own government which will be represented in Havana." (*Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.)

Comrade Browder then traces the changed significance of the Monroe Doctrine from "a support to the national liberation movement of the Latin American peoples, in their struggle to break away from the old European semi-feudal empires" to the time when it became, as it remains today, nothing but "the historical costume used to dress up the new policy of imperialist conquest of Wall Street." After citing many facts to show how American im-

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perialism has acted in Latin America in the last forty years, he concludes:

"It was not out of imagination, but from prolonged experience, that the Latin American people raised their slogans against 'Yankee Imperialism' and the 'Colossus of the North.'" *(Ibid.,* p. 76.)

Then characterizing the present policy of the Administration toward Latin America, the abandonment of some of the earlier beginnings of the "good neighbor" policy, he says:

"When we turn to the examination of the concrete proposals which have been given to the press by Washington in anticipation of the Havana conference, we are confirmed in our presumption that the Roosevelt Administration has plumped hook, line and sinker for an intensified imperialist policy." *(Ibid.,* p. 77.)

Comrade Browder then outlines a policy which alone will be in the interests of the people of Latin America, and shows how such a policy is also in the interests of the American people.

"The only salvation of the Latin American nations lies in the direction of a progressively increasing economic independence, to be achieved through (1) their own industrialization and reclaiming their economies from foreign ownership; (2) a more balanced agriculture; (3) the development of foreign trade between the Latin American countries; and (4) prevention at all cost that any of the great capitalist powers should secure monopoly over their foreign trade with the rest of the world. . . .

"We in the United States cannot successfully break the chains of monopoly over our own life if we help to bind Latin America in similar but even heavier chains. Wall Street's super-profits from Latin America only help to grind down the people of the United States into deeper poverty and oppression." *(Ibid.,* p. 78.)

II.

The second part of the book deals mainly with the last Presidential election campaign. It contains some of Browder's most important speeches—delivered by radio or through recordings, because the Roosevelt Administration, through Judge Knox, prevented the Communist candidate from touring the country. While the other Presidential candidates wish that the masses would not remind them of their campaign speeches, and when reminded of their already broken promises admit that they were mere "campaign oratory," the speeches of Comrade Browder when read today will be understood and accepted by new millions who in the course of the campaign were still under the illusions that Roosevelt was following a course toward peace, and against the economic royalists, or who took seriously Willkie's "oratory" about keeping out of war. These speeches will be read and remembered when the names of Roosevelt and Willkie will have dwindled into insignificance. We shall limit ourselves here to citing only one of the speeches and one article originally published in the

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Daily Worker, to show with what understanding, clarity and adroitness Comrade Browder met the main issues of the campaign.

* * *

In his most important speech during the election campaign, at the very moment when the candidates of both the major parties were competing in demagogic promises of "peace" and "democracy" Comrade Browder exposed the conspiracy of Wall Street and the Roosevelt Administration to plunge the country into war and establish a military dictatorship. He lashed out against the decision to prevent him from going to the people in person. He showed that he was denied rights granted to real criminals. Citing that the Administration was excusing its treatment of him on the ground that he and his Party "propose to change the form of government of the U. S.," he said:

"But who is really changing the form of government of the United States? It is the Roosevelt Administration, under the direct leadership of the President himself. They have been deliberately violating the elections laws, and the Constitution itself, throwing the Communist Party and other minor parties off the ballot in state after state, in order to steal Communist votes they may need to win the elections, in order more effectively to silence our voices. And it was the President himself who, on September 3, openly stepped outside the Constitution, assumed powers of an unlimited military dictator, committed the United States to a military alliance with Great Britain and participation in the second imperialist war—all without even the formality of submitting the issues to Congress, which under the Constitution alone holds the power of making alliances and deciding questions of war and peace." *(Ibid.,* p. 87.)

Comrade Browder is here of course referring to the so-called destroyer-base deal. He further exposes the conspiracy in these words:

". . . Wendell Willkie was nominated by a conspirational junta, organized by Thomas W. Lamont of the firm of J. P. Morgan, working in direct agreement with Roosevelt, and engineered by Walter Lippmann. Willkie was chosen for the Republican Party by Roosevelt and Lamont after an agreement had been reached as to the fundamental policy to which all would adhere, the same policy revealed in the President's sensational coup of September 3.

"Willkie's nomination was a guarantee which Roosevelt required before he dared to launch his coup d'etat. The masses, the majority of the voters, had been disarmed and denied every opportunity of effective protest before the President dared to proclaim the joining of the United States into the British Empire. Even now, with the elections effectively blocked off from the people, Roosevelt dares not submit his secretly matured plans to a vote of Congress, but must act by proclamation, by edict, by a coup d'etat.

"In its cunning trickery, in its cynical betrayals, in the personal character of its leading participants, the Roosevelt coup d'etat is in the historical tradition of Louis Napoleon; in its social significance for today, it is a flagrant adaptation of the technique of Adolph Hitler; in its consequences for the American

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people it is a catastrophe expressing the most profound and violent crisis of the capitalist world." (*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.)

Millions now, on the basis of his deeds, can see the game that Willkie played during the elections. But in September, Browder's analysis was a profound insight into events and indeed a bold public statement by a responsible leader of the working class. Whose vision and words have events confirmed? Today the millions begin to see that Roosevelt had long ago decided upon the course of war and was taking the country into it step by step. But to expose this conspiracy in September was the greatest service to the people.

Let us now consider Comrade Browder's article "Labor Must Find Its Political Independence." It was written as an editorial for the *Daily Worker* in comment on the speech of John L. Lewis in which he endorsed Wendell Willkie. The mass of the trade unionists were still supporting Roosevelt. The Hillmans were telling the masses that the choice between Roosevelt and Willkie was a choice between democracy and fascism; that to vote for Roosevelt was to preserve all the gains of the "New Deal," and to elect Willkie would mean Hitlerism in the United States. Many honest trade unionists who were cooling off toward Roosevelt would, in the absence of a "third party," vote for Roosevelt as the "lesser evil." It is under these conditions that Lewis made his speech and endorsement of Willkie. Immediately after the speech, the Hillmans, the Tobins, all the reformists and Social-Democrats, the "liberals," all who hated Lewis' militant trade union policies, all the Red-baiters, all the Hillman supporters in the C.I.O., jumped at what they considered an opportunity to annihilate the progressive forces in the labor and people's movement. They hoped to make use of the temporary confusion that Lewis' speech brought into the ranks of some of the progressive circles.

How did Comrade Browder meet this situation? That it was a difficult situation cannot be denied. But Comrade Browder by his masterful approach to this question helped not only to keep the progressive forces united, to beat back the attack of the Hillmans, Greens and Norman Thomases, but to show the progressive forces how they could emerge stronger out of this difficult situation. And that is exactly what happened. Comrade Browder of course could not and did not condone the grave error of Lewis in endorsing Willkie, but neither did he adopt a totally negative attitude. Here he showed again the value of real leadership. In this now famous editorial he said in the opening words:

"John L. Lewis, in his historic speech of October 25th, broke away from the active official leader of the war party, Roosevelt, only to fall into the arms of the candidate for leadership of that same war party, Willkie. Thus did he give dramatic expression to the most fundamental issue facing labor and the people—the necessity for full political independence from the moribund Democratic and Republican Parties which are but the expression of the

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war party coalition—without, however, indicating the only radical solution, which is an independent national Labor Party." *(Ibid.,* p. 147.)

Thus we see that while the Hillmans and Greens were trying to capitalize on the Lewis speech to rally the workers to Roosevelt, Browder used the same speech to promote independent political action of labor. While the reformists were putting forward Roosevelt as labor's choice, Browder showed that there was no choice between Roosevelt and Willkie. Today these same Hillmans, Greens, Waldmans and La Guardias are praising Willkie in the *same words as they praise* Roosevelt and Churchill. And truly there is not now and there was not then any real difference between them.

Referring to the Hillmans and Greens, Comrade Browder continued:

"There can be nothing but contempt for the howls and the caviling against Lewis, which come from the camp of Roosevelt's 'labor' lieutenants. Among these Lilliputians, Lewis stands forth as a giant. They have groveled at the feet of the war machine and would deliver labor in chains for the reward of Lewis' smile." *(Ibid.,* p. 148.)

"With Lewis' scorching excoriation of the betrayal of Roosevelt, of his adventurous playing with the welfare, the lives, and peace of the people, a profound assent arises from the masses, a deep voiced 'Amen.' . . . But the unconditional endorsement of Willkie, as the opposite of Roosevelt, flies in the face of truth and common sense. It transcends even the moss-grown plausibilities of the 'lesser evil' theory." *(Ibid.,* pp. 147-148.)

The position taken by Comarde Browder was echoed in one form or another by many of the most progressive trade union leaders, with the result that at the close of the campaign there was a greater body of support for independent political action on the part of labor than before. And even though this could not be registered in the November elections, because of the absence of a Farmer-Labor Party, it is nevertheless true that the progressive sections of labor emerged clearer and more united in their determination to fight for a break with both parties of the war coalition. And finally, as was registered at the C.I.O. national convention a few weeks later, the Hillmans were defeated in their attempt to use the Lewis speech in their efforts to split the C.I.O., to chain it to the Roosevelt war machine.

III.

The third and last section of the book contains ten separate articles, speeches and reports dealing with the most vital questions of the day, and elaborated in such a manner that they increase our understanding and knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of American history and of developments in the literary world. There are articles on the fight for the freedom of Prestes, on the inner developments in China, etc. Undoubtedly the most important contribution in this section is the report on "Proletarian Internationalism" delivered to the Emergency Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., in November, 1940.

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This report is a good example of how Comrade Browder has mastered Marxism-Leninism, and how he has raised and is leading our Party in its spirit. Here we have the greatest firmness in principle combined with the greatest flexibility in tactics. Comrade Browder begins this report with the famous Abraham Lincoln statement upon accepting honorary membership in the Workingmen's Association of New York which reads:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relationship, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds." *(Ibid.,* p. 179.)

He then shows how the principle of international solidarity which arose with the modern labor movement is not only not in conflict with, but is in the best traditions of this nation. Analyzing the "historical background of the Voorhis Act," he traces its "family tree" to the infamous "Alien and Sedition Laws" of the Adams Administration, 1796-1800. He shows how Thomas Jefferson, who was in his day denounced by the Alexander Hamiltons as a "Red," a "foreign agent," came to power in struggle against these infamous laws, and how these laws were smashed by the people. He traces the connection of the Voorhis Act under Roosevelt to the "Espionage Act" of 1917 under the "liberal" Wilson. Finally, he shows the kinship of the Voorhis Act to Hitlerism. This section of the report, like so many other articles in the book, shows how effectively Comrade Browder can draw upon his deep knowledge of the history of our country in the interests of the people's struggles of today.

Let us remember that the Emergency Convention was called to decide what action the C.P.U.S.A. was to take in the face of the enactment of the Voorhis Registration Bill, which, if applied to the Party, would practically make it impossible for the Party to carry on its work freely and openly. This would be so, not because the Party has anything to hide, but because the Voorhis Act is really a blacklist against the membership of every organization to which it would be applied. How did Comrade Browder meet this question? He met it, first, by concretely analyzing the situation and taking into account both the forces making for fascization and the restraining influences:

"Does the Voorhis Act represent such a definitive fascization of America that it leaves the Communist Party no choice but capitulation or being declared illegal? That it may represent such a development, by administrative edict, is clear. But a careful examination of the question will cause us to withhold such a conclusion until it is forced on us.

"First, we have witnessed the example of England where, after more than fourteen months of war and several months of horrible bombardments from the air, the Communist Party of Great Britain still functions as a legal party . . . the war hysteria has not overwhelmed it despite all the restrictions of wartime under a bourgeois government. While it is true that the American bourgeoisie is more hysterical, more jittery . . . yet we may still keep the door open for possible

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restraining influences to operate, to keep America from the full fascization which threatens.

"Secondly, the Voorhis Act itself has the peculiarity that it avoids direct attack upon political opinions, principles and teachings, insofar as anything applying to the Communist Party is concerned. We are not advocates of force and violence, we are not foreign agents, we are not under foreign control—nothing whatever in the Act brings the Communist Party under its provisions except the single fact of *international affiliation*—our formal adherence to the Communist International as an organized part of a world party." *(Ibid.,* p. 189.)

On the basis of the analysis of the concrete situation and the actual provisions of the Voorhis Act (rather than the intentions or possible intentions of the Administration), Comrade Browder proposed a line of policy which on the one hand firmly defended the principle of internationalism, and at the same time adopted a flexible attitude on the "organizational expression" of that principle:

"This affiliation is the organizational expression of the principle of internationalism, a principle to which the life of every Communist is unconditionally consecrated. For this principle we will whenever necessary gladly give our lives, for it is that which gives life meaning, makes it proud, heroic, worth living, the only guarantee for the whole future of humanity.

"Can we consider taking the step of dissolving the formal, official affiliation . . . as the only way to avoid immediate practical illegalization of our Party under the Voorhis Act? Must we defend this concrete organizational expression of our fundamental principle in the same unconditional, uncompromising way we defend and always will defend the principle itself?" *(Ibid.,* p. 189.)

It was on the basis of this analysis and with the understanding of our uncompromising adherence to the principle of internationalism, that the Emergency Convention unanimously adopted Comrade Browder's proposal to "cancel and dissolve" the Party's organizational affiliation to the Communist International, at the same time condemning the Voorhis Act and deciding to work for its repeal.

Among the most important speeches in the book is the one delivered at the Lenin Memorial Meeting in January of this year—"The Way Out of the Imperialist War." It gave for the first time a direct answer to the question of the extent to which we were becoming involved in the war. Secondly, it gave a clear answer on how to get out of the war. On the first point Comrade Browder said:

"The first requirement for understanding our problems is to face facts as they are, however unpleasant. And it is a fact, unpleasant indeed, that America *is in the war.* Most of the current newspaper and radio chatter about keeping out of the war is merely to hide a while longer the fact that we are already in, that our problem is: 'What way out.'" *(Ibid.,* p. 199.)

But this did not mean, as Comrade Browder pointed out, that we adopt a fatalistic attitude and fail to organize the masses to struggle

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against every new step that would involve us ever more deeply. That is why we continue to fight against convoys, against a new A.E.F., against every new war measure, whether directed at America's imperialist rival or the people at home.

Then turning to the way out of the war, Comrade Browder showed that not by supporting one side in the imperialist war, which would of course be against the interests of the masses, not by supporting Britain, as if a victory for Britain would be better than a victory for Germany, can the war be brought to an end, but only through the struggles of the people:

"What then is the way out of the war? Look back at the last World War! The nations are locked in embrace of mutual destruction, and the ruling classes of none of them could point any way out except to complete the destruction. Peace came only when the masses, the workers, the peasants and soldiers of one great country, Russia, took their fate into their own hands, overthrew the old rulers, proclaimed socialism and peace. They were threatened with the most dire consequences. The Kaiser's Germany forced a victor's peace at Brest-Litovsk—but the people of Germany soon overthrew the Kaiser in a revolution of their own. The United States, Britain, France, Japan made an undeclared war against them—but the people stirred against their own governments and forced them to withdraw. The Russian Revolution in 1917, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, brought the end of the World War.

"The present imperialist war will be brought to an end by a similar revolution in one or more of the major countries of Europe. It cannot be ended by the present rulers, but only by their overthrow. The peoples themselves must end this war." (*Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.)

Comrade Browder may be behind prison bars, but the American people will in ever greater numbers learn of his teachings and follow his advice. We know that it will not be easy. There are stormy days ahead for the masses, and of course for our Party. But there is no other choice than the path shown by Comrade Browder. And with every day, despite all hardships, our confidence in the final outcome only increases. We are inspired by the calm and confidence with which Comrade Browder for more than a year, with a heavy prison sentence hanging over him, carried on. We will strive to be his worthy disciples.

Comrade Browder in prison knows that the Party of which he is the leader, and which he raised in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, will carry on and not falter. He has left us tried cadres trained under his leadership, and a great tradition. He has taught us how to meet the most difficult problems. He has given us in his writings all of his wisdom, experience, deep love for the masses, faith in the future. These are our strength. We shall all study his works. We shall study "The Way Out," until we make sure that we have grasped every thought, its method, its spirit. And we know that to master and fully understand his works, which will ever be our guide, we must study again and again the

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teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We must follow his advice and make the most profound study of the history of our country. We must note and give serious thought to every important new event. Only thus shall we be able fully to understand and apply the teachings contained in *The Way Out* and Browder's previous writings.

But our task is not only to make certain that every Party member read and study *The Way Out*. This we shall accomplish through our branches, our schools, educational circles, through self-study. Our task is also to bring this last book of Comrade Browder to hundreds of thousands of workers, especially the most active forces among the workers in the basic industries, in the trade unions, who have just written a new and glorious page in the militant struggles in which they engaged. In celebrating the birthday of Comrade Browder we pledge ourselves, not only to master his works, to make them the property of the entire Party membership, but to organize ourselves to bring them to these hundreds of thousands in the coming months.

We face the future and our tasks with the confidence that Comrade Browder so ably expressed in his speech on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the *New Masses* when he said:

"A great wave of reaction has engulfed America. In appearance it is overwhelmingly strong, and we are a puny handful who stand up and brave the lightning of their storms apparently doomed to utter annihilation. That is the appearance. But behind this surface appearance the reality is something else. This great gathering of the forces of reaction, this unlimited offensive against everything that is honest and decent in American life is a sign not of the strength of reaction in America; it is a sign that the whole ruling class today is becoming conscious of its doom. It is a sign that the American bourgeoisie has read its own death warrant and is in a hysterical fit of resistance to the inevitable. And we, though small numbers today—and the future always first presents itself not with a majority but with a small minority—we represent the future of America. We represent the American search for truth; we represent the American tradition of democracy, of government of, by and for the people. We represent honest thought and culture; we represent the search for beauty; we represent the creative power of the masses. And that is why the future belongs to us. If the bourgeoisie still dreams that in America they can continue their bankrupt and decrepit system by adopting the new technique of Adolph Hitler, let them take a second thought. That is a false hope. They did not begin the job quickly enough. Already there is such a growing opinion, knowledge, culture, understanding, intellectual power in the masses of America that the most reactionary regime can never cut it out." *(Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.)

And we add that we, today only a minority actively fighting for the unconditional release of Earl Browder, will tomorrow be joined by new hundreds of thousands, who will inscribe on the banner of struggle for peace, security, democracy and socialism, also the demand: *Free Earl Browder!*

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EARL BROWDER—LEADER OF THE OPPRESSED

BY JAMES W. FORD

EARL BROWDER, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, symbolizes all that is fine, honest and progressive in the working class of our country. To him belongs the honor of having consolidated the Communist Party of the United States, the Party of the working class, champion of the Negro people, of all the toilers of our country, the best representative of the true national interests of the American people. This historic contribution—the consolidation of a united Communist Party, vanguard in the struggle for a socialist society in America, free from wars, from exploitation, from national oppression—accords to Browder the place of foremost American in the present era.

The Roosevelt Administration, the government of the capitalist ruling class of America, has imprisoned Earl Browder in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., because of his opposition to the involvement of this country in the imperialist war. The exploiters hate Earl Browder because the Party which he heads explains to the working class and the people generally that their interests do not lie in supporting imperialist wars of conquest and plunder of other peoples and countries; that, in proceeding to launch its plunder war abroad, imperialism simultaneously makes war upon the people at home.

Earl Browder says:

". . . The War Party of the American bourgeoisie is on the march, and Roosevelt stands at its head. . . . The government, with the War Party in full possession, step by step moves into the Second Imperialist War and sets up its instruments of repression of the masses." (*The Second Imperialist War,* pp. 289-292.)

That is why the rulers of America hate Earl Browder.

* * *

Earl Browder, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist in the Western Hemisphere, is the symbol of fraternity and unity among the toiling peoples of the Americas. Unity of the peoples can successfully defeat Yankee imperialist exploitation, domination and war. Earl Browder has exposed in our own country and throughout Latin America the im-

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perialist designs of the rich rulers of this country to strangle the countries of Latin America and subjugate their peoples to American imperialism as a part of its scheme of world empire.

Earl Browder is the best friend in America of the people of China because of his profound Leninist understanding of their struggle for national freedom. For many years Earl Browder worked with the people of China and helped them organize the struggle against the imperialist powers intent on dismembering China.

Indefatigably, Browder has brought before the American masses the Marxist-Leninist truth that the interests of the toilers in the big capitalist countries are fundamentally interconnected with the interests of the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries who struggle against imperialist oppression. He, therefore, who understands and aids the millions of colonial peoples in their struggle against the rulers of his own country, evokes the boundless love of the colonial peoples, and attains the highest respect among the toilers of his own land. That is why a mighty protest movement is stirring throughout Latin America and in China for the freedom of Earl Browder.

The people of Cuba are resisting the machinations of Yankee imperialism to pull their country into the imperialist war. They are fighting for democratic freedom and to maintain the independence of their country. Lazaro Pena, General Secretary of the National Federation of Trade Unions of Cuba, sent to President Roosevelt the following cablegram of protest against the imprisonment of Earl Browder:

"At a membership meeting of our organization we unanimously voted to address you, requesting the pardon of the genuine leader of the American workers, Earl Browder, sentenced by the high tribunals of that country.

"We trust that this appeal of ours, which is the unanimous outcry of all the peoples of our continent, will receive proper attention so that our beloved popular leader should be freed promptly."

A splendid example of solidarity of the peoples of Latin America and the United States is expressed in the fight for the liberation of Earl Browder; of A. Compas, a nationalist leader of Puerto Rico, who is also serving a prison term in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta; and of Luis Carlos Prestes, "Knight of Hope" of the Brazilian people. In Cuba, Mexico, Chile, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, Haiti and other Latin American and Caribbean countries, the indignation of the masses rings out in loud protest, "Free Earl Browder!"

Jacques Romain, prominent Haitian leader and poet, declares:

"The election in Haiti, in which the real character of the Roosevelt Administration manifests itself so brazenly, shows the need for all honest and progressive people in the United States who believe in real democracy and in sincere cooperation of the peoples of the Americas to intensify their struggle against U.S. participation in this war; to strengthen their solidarity with the

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peoples of Latin America; to expose the complicity of the State Department in the crimes of Lescot, Vargas and Trujillo; *to mobilize the people to demand the liberation of the real defenders of the liberties and rights of the people of this hemisphere; to press for the freedom of Carlos Prestes and Earl Browder.*"

In these manifestations of solidarity are symbolized the common interests of the peoples against the class hatred of the imperialist bourgeoisie toward its own people and the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

* * *

The imprisonment of Earl Browder has specific relation to the problems of the 13,000,000 Negro people in their struggle for equality and liberation. Browder is the champion of the oppressed, a people's leader. He has a complete understanding of the struggles of the Negro peoples, their achievements, their aspirations and the great contribution they are making and will increasingly make to the liberation of all the toilers in America.

The policy of oppression of the Negro people, begun in the period of the slave market, is continued today in the form of national oppression under the modern American capitalist system. The white ruling class of America rides roughshod over the Negro people along with its efforts to strangle labor. The Roosevelt Government has established a national policy of Jim Crow to cause disunity between the Negro people and white labor, and to disunite the workers' ranks as it plunges the country headlong into war. The rulers of America know the power of the labor movement and the Negro people when united. They are determined to prevent the stronger forging of that bond. That is why they intensify their attacks against the Negro people. With his penetrating understanding of this question, Earl Browder declares:

"Among the most important allies of the American working class are the Negro people . . . who, more than any other section of the population, are doubly oppressed and exploited by capitalism. The forces of reaction that ride the country today center some of their hardest blows at the Negro toilers. They seek to throttle the rising tide of Negro unrest by increasing Jim Crow terrorism, by tightening up on segregation and intensifying discrimination in every form." (*What Is Communism?*, p. 181.)

The heightened level of struggle of the Negro people today and the growing understanding of sections of the working class movement of the problems of the Negro people can be measured by the fierce hatred which the bourgeois rulers evidence toward Browder and the Communist Party. The current strike struggles throughout the country have shown truly great heights of solidarity and the urge for trade union organization on the part of the Negro workers. One of the outstanding achievements of the recent strike in the Ford plant at Detroit was the fact that Ford and his agents were unsuccessful in instigating a race clash between Negro

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and white workers as a means of preventing the unionization of the workers as a whole. Ford and his henchmen, enemies of labor and the Negro, turned heaven and earth to provoke a race riot. But the majority of the Ford Negro workers stuck with the union and demonstrated their advanced understanding and class solidarity.

The policy of subjecting Negro citizens to an inferior status is firmly maintained in industry by the rulers of capitalist America. And, except in certain important instances, reactionary trade union leaders, particularly in the A. F. of L. and in the Railroad Brotherhoods, stamp Negro workers as second-rate citizens and bar them from the unions altogether, and deny them elementary trade union rights. But in the Lackawanna and Bethlehem steel strikes, the International Harvester strike in Chicago, the struggle for jobs for Negroes on the bus lines in New York, and in numerous other actions during the recent period, Negro workers have blasted the lies and slanders of reactionary trade union officials, and exhibited high trade union consciousness and workers' solidarity. By their sterling qualities, they have stamped the trade union bureaucracy as strike-breakers and agents of the ruling class.

In unions where Negro workers enjoy equality they show even greater power of solidarity, as in the United Mine Workers of America, led by John L. Lewis. In this union, where thousands of Negro and white workers always stand solidly together, the initiative has already been taken through the splendid victory in their recent stoppage to solve the thorny problems of the poll tax and the lack of citizenship rights of all the common people of the South.

The progressive development toward uniting the Negro and white workers in the trade unions, and the struggle against the Jim-Crow policy of the reactionary trade union leaders, have in great measure been led by the Communist Party. Earl Browder says:

"We Communists have always had as one of our main jobs the fight against discrimination in the trade unions and elsewhere, against Jim-Crow lynching and brutality and against every kind of oppression by the white ruling class of this country." *(Ibid.)*

Like the Negro workers, the Negro people's movement generally is registering new advances, especially in the struggle against the war and the effect of the war program on the life of the Negroes in the United States. The war program of the American bourgeoisie and its Roosevelt Government is the root of the intensified Negro oppression and job discrimination in the recent period. In the name of democracy the country is being rushed headlong into war and the conditions of the Negro people are rapidly growing worse. A recent statement to the Negro people, endorsed by a broad cross-section of Negro leaders—labor, professional, religious, youth—released by Dr. Max Yergan, indicates what the heart of the Negro problem in America is today. It says:

"Discrimination, Jim Crowism, segregation and unemployment,

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from which the Negro people suffer in normal times, have become much more acute as the country drives to war. We are told that the 'defense' program is to prepare the nation for a defense of democracy. Yet scarcely any feature of the program stands out more distinctly than the discrimination which is being forced upon Negro Americans."

It is inevitable that an imperialist war of depredation, pillage, destruction of nations, and subjugation of peoples—conducted by two gangs of imperialists, equally guilty—can only multiply a hundredfold the oppression which the Negro people suffer in America today.

"The Negro people cannot avoid the conclusion that the war drive," declares the statement to the Negro people, "and the denial and destruction of democratic rights go together. . . . The Negro people want nothing of Hitler; they detest him and all his practices. On the other hand, the British war-makers hold India, the West Indies and other colonial areas in a cruel bondage—often infinitely worse than the oppression known by Negroes in America."

The statement further says:

"... the last war destroyed many liberties and resulted in further cultural and economic impoverishment. We are convinced that the present war will do the same."

"... peoples in all areas affected by the present war are tragic witnesses to this fact. The peoples can[not] escape bearing this war and the untold sufferings it has brought upon them. They want peace—a democratic peace, without indemnities and annexations. They want democracy, and they reject the leadership of either imperialist camp in the present war that it is fighting for democracy or for a better world "new order."

The statement to the Negro people declares further:

". . . we want democracy with equality in jobs, in our political life, and in the social institutions of our country, and we want peace in which to achieve these basic human rights."

We Communists find ourselves in full agreement with these indictments of the brutal effect of the Roosevelt war program upon the Negro people. These clear statements evidence the growing maturity of the Negro people's movement.

The Negro people are waging a relentless struggle against Jim Crow in industry. But they must not allow this fight to be made a basis for supporting the involvement of this country in the imperialist war. This would be a fatal mistake. It would be endorsement of a predatory war program that threatens them with total ruin, economically and socially.

In the national election campaign of the Communist Party in 1940, brilliantly led by Earl Browder, the Communists were the first to warn the Negro people of the plans to plunge America into the imperialist war and of the dire consequences that such a move held in store for them:

"When President Roosevelt signed the conscription bill, he declared that democracy entailed equal obli-

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ations. . . . And yet, only a short ime before, Senator Barkley, Administration whip, practically declared that the government was too busy with 'defense' to think about Negro *rights*. . . . And on top of this, the President [abetted by A. Philip Randolph, Walter White and T. Arnold Hill] officially raised Jim Crowism to the status of a national policy. . . ."

In the struggle for peace and the right to work, the Negro people have to be on guard against the nefarious united front of the reformists and Social-Democratic leaders with the white bourgeois ruling class to chain the Negro people to the war machine. The reformist leaders are up to their old tricks—betraying the Negro people, as they did during the last imperialist war, when they sold out the Negro people to the white bourgeois rulers.

A statement issued by the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, purporting to speak for the Negro people, has just been released. It is signed by "sixty prominent Americans." They include A. Philip Randolph, Negro Social-Democratic leader, and a few reformist Negro leaders and other professionals. But the names are overwhelmingly those of white bourgeois leaders and agents of the ruling class, including Governor Lehman, a high figure in the Roosevelt war set-up; and Matthew Woll, the long-discredited reactionary vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. The composition of the signers exposes the real purpose of the statement to chain the Negro people to the war program of American finance capital. These gentlemen are at bottom in complete agreement with the policy of maintaining a Jim-Crow status for Negro citizens. They have become alarmed at the militancy and the brilliant *struggles of the Negro people* in the recent period for manhood status. While they admit "some discrimination" against Negro people in the "national defense" set-up, their real aim, according to the statement, is: "an 'all out' defense effort," in other words, support by the Negro people of the Roosevelt war program, and acceptance of the national Jim-Crow policy.

Let the Negro people speak for themselves and seek their allies among their real friends. The statement released by Dr. Max Yergan in behalf of a large group of Negro leaders declares:

"The progressive sections of or ganized labor, notably in the C.I.O and in some unions of the A. F. L., have done yeoman service in in proving the status of the Neg worker. But prejudiced eleme that receive aid and comfort fr the A. F. of L. bureaucracy m and receive our condemnation their continued policy of disc ination against the Negro wo and indifference toward his p lems.

"Men who have enacted an excuted our laws and contro economic life of our country never seriously challenge open fact of discrimination Negroes in the job life of A We declare ourselves una opposed to Jim Crowism a tional policy. . . .

"We must speak out a clearly our demands: We right and need to insist

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work for the removal of all restrictions on the franchise and the complete abolition of the poll tax. We demand the abolition of all Jim-Crow restrictions in civil life as well as in the armed forces. Finally, we insist upon the opening up of all jobs, public and private, to Negroes on the basis of equality with whites.

"We set our compass in the direction of freedom, security and full citizenship rights. We want a democracy that is a living reality for all the people within it."

Earl Browder says:

"The Negro people have learned to expect and demand from Communists the greatest sensitivity to their problems, the greatest energy in their defense, the closest solidarity in their struggle. We are proud of this position. We are proud of our pioneering work in the dark regions of the Solid South. We are proud to be spoken of as 'the party of the Negroes.' We will defend and advance this position at all costs." *(The People's Front,* p 47.)

The struggle for the release of Earl Browder is of tremendous importance to the country as a whole, but it is of special significance to the Negro people. The persecution of Browder and the Communist Party is a blow at the rights of the Negro people. Its aim is the paralyzing of the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people.

The Communist Party is making the occasion of the fiftieth birthday of its beloved leader, Earl Browder, which occurs on May 20, a great event in the life of the country. It conducts the celebration of this great event in a practical way: (1) to intensify the struggle for Browder's release; (2) to bring the brilliant teachings of Browder to a vast number of Americans; (3) and to bring new thousands of toiling people into the ranks of the Communist Party.

Let the Negro people respond to this great campaign. Join the fight to get America out of the imperialist war! Join the struggle for peace! Join the struggle for Negro equality —for full national liberation! Join the struggle to defend the peoples of Latin America, the Caribbean, China, the oppressed everywhere, against imperialism! *Free Earl Browder!*

Take your place among the forces struggling to end capitalist exploitation and oppression and to establish socialism—the new world of freedom, prosperity and peace, the the first sector of which the peoples of the Soviet Union have so magnificently constructed! Join in the struggle for freeing Earl Browder, friend and champion of the Negro people, and of all the exploited and oppressed!

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EARL BROWDER—MOLDER OF PARTY CADRES

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON

THE Leninist view of building the Communist Party as the vanguard and leader of the working class evaluates the question of cadres—their selection, distribution and training—as one of primary importance. This view has been tested in the rich experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin. Similarly, in the growth and development of our Party toward a mass Party, with strong roots among the American workers, the problem of cadres has occupied an important place. Our Party's ability to meet the numerous and difficult tasks before the American working class, and to influence and guide its development into a decisive force in the life of the American people, has been intimately connected with its ability to develop, promote and train new Party leaders.

More than anyone else, Comrade Browder has undeviatingly pursued a Leninist policy in approaching the solution of this problem. His own development and methods of leadership have set a splendid example for all other and younger Party leaders to follow. The fruits of this consistent attention to the development of cadres by our National Committee, under the leadership of Browder, are seen today in the unity, steadfastness and political ability of not only the National Committee but the great majority of state committees.

Comrade Browder has never tired of referring to the Leninist tests indicated by Georgi Dimitroff with reference to the selection of leading Party personnel, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Absolute devotion to the working class, loyalty to the Party, tested in the struggle and under the enemy's fire.

2. The closest possible contact with the masses.

3. The ability to assume initiative, to find the correct course independently, to make decisions, and to assume responsibility.

4. Discipline and steadfastness in the struggle against the class enemy, as well as irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the Party line; immunity to moods of panic and pessimism; the ability to work collectively and weld the Party forces into a monolithic unity.

However, understanding that the problem of cadres should always be approached in the light of the tasks confronting the Party at different periods, Comrade Browder placed different emphasis at different times, although never deviating

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from the guiding policy which he expressed as follows:

"Communist Party policy depends for effectiveness upon the leading personnel which must translate it into life. Our policy can never rise above the political level of the Party leading committees." (*The Democratic Front*, p. 66.)

In the first decade of our Party's history there was no conscious policy of promotion and development of new cadres. The new forces that did appear came forward in the Communist Youth movement. The overwhelming majority of the leading forces had come over from the Socialist Party, the I.W.W., and the Left forces within the A. F. of L. unions. They brought with them old practices and influences, although they were generally united in the desire to organize and build a party based on revolutionary theory and inspired by the successful October Revolution.

In this first decade the Party was faced with the task of creating a real Marxist-Leninist Party, able to come to grips with the many problems arising on the American scene from the standpoint of advancing the interests of the proletariat, and striving through the application of such leadership to establish firm ties with the American working class. This process was hindered by a combination of the historical sectarianism and "practicality" of the American revolutionary movement, with the by-products of "Left" romanticism and Right opportunism. Despite this, and the other inhibiting factors in the period when the dominant leadership was largely successful in hamstringing the labor movement into passivity with the Coolidge-Hoover "permanent prosperity" illusions, the Party nevertheless succeeded to an extent in establishing contact with the workers in the mass movements for amalgamation of the craft unions, recognition of the Soviet Union, toward building a Farmer-Labor Party, and in the "outlaw" strikes and the strikes of unorganized workers, in the main initiated and led by our Party. But the progress of the Party was greatly impeded by the prolonged factional struggle, which was accentuated by the manipulations of two cliques, headed respectively by Lovestone and Cannon, inside of each of the main groupings. The factional struggle prevented the adoption of a much needed policy of promoting and developing new cadres. The effect of this was felt keenly in the shortage of forces which rendered more difficult the overcoming of our isolation by active participation and leadership in the mass struggles that followed the outbreak of the economic crisis in 1929, which coincided with the unity of our Party after the expulsion of the factional disrupters Lovestone, Cannon, Schachtman and Gitlow.

A United Party Forged Ahead in the Mass Struggles

With the Party and its leadership united for the first time in ten years, and this united leadership having elected Comrade Browder as General Secretary, the Party, in his words, "sailed into the storms of the crisis boldly, beginning to gather its

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fundamental political experience that made it a factor in the national political life." A new era of Party history opened and immediately the Party was confronted with the need of pursuing a conscious and persistent policy of developing and promoting new forces of leadership. In these years of 1930-33 the united Party threw itself into the struggles of the unemployed, the Negro people, the unemployment insurance campaign, the newly organized Trade Union Unity League industrial unions and the developing strike wave; for the first time the Party penetrated the South.

Every possible force, every comrade showing promise of leadership, including the Party members in the Young Communist League, was sought out and given responsibility of leadership in the districts and section organizations. There was no time for formal training, necessary as this was. The prerequisites were understanding of the Party policy, loyalty, ability to adjust oneself to new conditions and new methods of work in the course of sharpened class battles, and a political re-education achieved largely through the more intensive propaganda activity of the National Committee and self-study in the course of participating in and leading the daily struggles of the workers which swept the country. The great majority of these cadres proved themselves worthy of the Party and their class and today are part of the Party leadership, both nationally and in the most important districts. The activity of these particular years resulted in marked progress in overcoming the previous isolation of the Party from the American people and demonstrated our ability to cope with the new problems and to give effective leadership to the masses in their struggles. It established us as a Party on a national scale and enabled us to recruit new thousands of Negro and white workers into our ranks.

The period of 1933-36, during which there occurred an economic revival, registered significant developments in the life of the country; broad and determined struggle for the right of union organization; numerous strike struggles against the will, not only of the employers, but of the reactionary top leadership of the A. F. of L.; the grouping together of the union forces that launched the C.I.O.; the sharp realignment of class forces in the country with the emergence—at the end of this period—of a democratic front of the toiling masses on the basis of the New Deal program, with the organized labor movement playing a leading role, and including wide sections of the middle class. The Communist Party grew to a membership of nearly 50,000, with three times as many state organizations and ten times as many section and county organizations as it had previously. The Party had a growing organization in the South and had members in all forty-eight states. This period again faced the Party leadership with a whole series of new cadre problems.

Comrade Browder again sounded the keynote when he declared:

"What is the central weakness in our work of building a mass Party?

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. . . It is the insufficient number of politically trained and technically skilled leading people, the shortage of adequately prepared officers to lead the mass army which we are recruiting. . . . We are not adequately providing a leading personnel to these masses who are coming to us. We attack this problem in a desultory, unorganized, and mechanical fashion, without thinking out the problem fundamentally." *(The People's Front,* pp. 54-55.)

What was needed was hundreds of new leading forces and intensive training of both old and new cadres. While in the first period, 1930-33, Party forces had been sent from old established Party centers to scores of new localities, this process could not continue. It was draining the original Party centers; but even more important was the need of developing local people who had roots in the locality and were known among the workers of the shops of that area and could develop into much more effective local Party leaders. To carry through this task of training hundreds of new, young comrades who were just joining our Party, coming out of the struggles we were participating in, and to promote them into leadership, necessitated a sharp campaign within the Party. There were manifestations of skepticism among the membership as to whether such "new" people could be "trusted" with such posts of Party leadership. Yardsticks of leadership were sometimes set up by older cadres that even they themselves would have had difficulties in meeting. Above all, these tendencies reflected lack of confidence in the new workers joining the Party and impatience with the task of training such "raw" workers. Against this, Comrade Browder spoke out sharply, declaring:

"Is there any shortage of potential leading forces which can meet all our needs? Not at all. Among the new tens of thousands coming into our ranks we have all the forces we need. *But we are not using them adequately.* Our leading forces tend to petrify in closed circles of the oldest Party comrades. The new active elements, potential leaders, are not systematically brought forward and trained for their tasks." *(Ibid.,* p. 55.)

As a result of this campaign hundreds of new local forces were trained and promoted into local posts of leadership. They were especially picked from the most active participants in the mass struggles of the unemployed, the struggles for Negro rights, and the developing strike struggles of the newly organized union members.

They had the particular task of guiding and organizing the Party members in the constantly growing mass struggles and helping to answer the problems facing the newly organized workers as they were confronted, not only with employer hostility, but with opposition from the top leadership of the A. F. of L. to their militant actions and organizing activities.

Side by side with the emphasis on training and boldly promoting new, young local working class forces into leadership, Comrade Browder raised the slogan of Every Party Member a Leader of Masses. He explained this as follows:

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". . . the whole Party life must be organized on the principle of making every Party member into a leader among the masses. Every member must assume the task of leading and educating at least *one* worker outside the Party; he shall consider himself a real Bolshevik only when fifty to a hundred workers regularly look to him for guidance and leadership in the problems of the class struggle." (*Ibid.*, p. 56.)

This slogan, ever vital for the Party's advance, especially fitted the conditions of that period when every city had tens of thousands of workers joining unions for the first time. They were raw and inexperienced. They knew little of the shop-steward system, of how a negotiating committee should act with the boss, of how to organize picket lines, of how to conduct meetings and organize executive boards, not to speak of the many more complicated political problems that confronted them. These workers were militant and willing to learn. In this period thousands of Party members won the confidence and respect of their shopmates and brother trade unionists and contributed decisively to the building of many militant, strongly organized local unions, some of which served as cornerstones for newly organized A. F. of L. or C.I.O. unions.

A Higher Quality of Leadership

The period of 1936-39 saw the highest point of the New Deal development when, in the words of Browder,

". . . a section of the bourgeoisie in a loose sort of coalition with labor, the poorer farmers, the Negroes, the youth, the unemployed, had tried to lead the United States on . . . the path of social reform and concessions to the masses. . . . That was the period of the New Deal, in which the obsolete and disintegrating old party structure had largely dissolved into two new camps—the New Deal and the anti-New Deal. . . ." (*The Way Out*, p. 38.)

This period ended with the outbreak of the imperialist war. This marked the retreat of the Roosevelt segment of the bourgeoisie back to the Economic Royalists and the launching, under the false slogan of "national unity," and under the leadership of Roosevelt, of an offensive against the working class and the toiling masses generally by the united big bourgeoisie in their headlong plunge for imperialist expansion via imperialist war.

In no previous period had our Party exercised such mass influence and won such respect as it did during these years. Again the question of our cadres was re-examined in the light of the alignment of the class forces, the needs of the working class and the tasks of our Party, and emphasis was placed on improving the quality of our work, while continuing to pursue a bold policy of training and promoting new, young, local forces into Party leadership. This keynote was sounded at the Tenth Convention by Browder, who declared:

"Constant improvement in the political effectiveness of our work, steadily rising *quality*, is demanded by the growth of our Party into a truly mass party which can influ-

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ence millions. The key to all progress is the constant struggle for improvement in the quality of our work." (*The Democratic Front*, p. 63.)

Improved quality in our work and greater mastery of theory by our cadres were especially emphasized at this time, owing to the vital role of the Party in the democratic front and the need at the same time to guard against the danger of its submergence in the democratic front mass movement.

To strengthen the democratic front movement and help influence it toward a real people's front movement, with a clear-cut political program, it was above all necessary to infuse the working class and labor movement with political understanding of its role as the unifying force and leader of the general movement against reaction and for genuine democracy. This was especially necessary because of the efforts of monopoly capital to divide the middle class from the labor movement and even to divide the labor movement itself, around the issues of the militant strike and "sit-down" struggles and the wave of union organization that swept the country.

Emphasis on improved quality of our work simultaneously aimed at developing fully and frankly the Party's independent political position at all times and in relation to all groups, and at enabling it to combat effectively all ideas harmful to the cause of the people and the developing democratic front unity. Such criticism, far from harming the unity of the movement, contributed to its strengthening. In carrying out this line political astuteness was necessary on the part of the Party cadres everywhere, in order to clarify and steel the Party, present its independent position to the masses and yet maintain proper friendly and working relations with the other forces within the democratic front movement. To the extent that the Party forces within the mass organizations, especially the trade unions, improved the quality of their work, they were able to organize political mass education and develop the class consciousness of the trade union members, in such a way that they understood the need of defeating every Red-scare and anti-Communist move, not only from the viewpoint of defending civil rights and maintaining their own unity against reactionary attacks, but also from the more basic viewpoint of defending the Communist Party as a genuine working class and democratic force.

In short, the emphasis on the improved quality of the work of our cadres aimed at enhancing our Party's contribution to the development and consolidation of the progressive mass movements, of enhancing its role as vanguard of the working class, of securing on this basis closer and firmer ties with the workers and with the toiling masses generally, and of thus strengthening the Communist Party itself, numerically, organizationally, and as a political force.

The enhanced role of the Communist leadership in the broad mass movement in this period, brought renewed emphasis on the question

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of political vigilance and personal conduct. Unhesitatingly the Party demanded higher standards from all its functionaries and emphasized that all who assume the responsibility of leadership thereby submit themselves to the constant inspection, criticism and verification of the whole mass movement. In this connection the Party tolerated no attitude of smug satisfaction, above all, no political vacillation under petty-bourgeois influence. Comrade Browder declared:

"A Communist leader must be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. He must be an example to his fellows and to the masses, of the best qualities of the working class and the American people. He must inspire and maintain confidence among the masses. He must be the steel link that binds our Party immutably with the toiling people." (*Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.)

So important did the Party consider this question of improving the quality of the work of the entire membership and especially its leading cadres, that the Tenth Convention adopted a detailed plan for intensive political training, aimed particularly at reaching the hundreds of new, local, working class comrades in the branches and sections. This included numerous full-time schools on a district and national scale, and special schools for Negro and youth workers. It covered the organizing of hundreds of week-end schools and evening classes, and of thousands of study circles, many of which were connected with the Workers Schools. Emphasis was also given to the need of acquiring the habit of self-education through planned reading and self-study.

Of great assistance in this campaign was *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* One hundred thousand copies of this classic work were sold and have been and are being systematically studied for the lessons that it teaches the American Communists.

A pamphlet of Comrade Browder written at that time, to help dramatize and organize this campaign to improve the quality of our work through better mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, should be read and reread today, for the guidance it gives. In this present period of great historical changes, one passage of this pamphlet is especially worth quoting:

"It is in moments of crisis, of great changes, of historic turns, when there is revealed especially the utter inadequacy and harmfulness of all anti-Marxian theory. . . . Today all the old landmarks are drifting, breaking up, disappearing. . . . For those with foundations only in the old order of things, it is a period of pessimism and despair. . . . Our theory guides us through crisis, through moments of great change, because it is a science of social development, it is the generalization of all past history and forecasts future history. . . . For those . . . armed with the understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory, the way is lighted up through the deepest chaos, pessimism is dissolved, courage and enthusiasm inspire to struggle, with calm confidence in the certainty of victory." (*Theory as a Guide to Action,* pp. 9-10.)

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Browder's Methods of Work and Leadership

Every Party functionary, from the humblest group organizer to the members of the National Committee, can learn from the methods of work and leadership of Comrade Browder himself. He has the ability to find that which is new in each situation and to choose that link which is most decisive at the time in furthering the class interests of the workers and in making more effective the Party's work of influencing and leading the working class. Once a policy has been decided upon by the National Committee, he is intransigent in its execution and strikes out against everything that tends to obstruct. In his relations with comrades, he is an example of modesty and unlimited patience, especially with rank-and-file comrades and lower Party functionaries. His speeches and writings are always aimed at influencing and being understood by the broad masses of non-Party members, and not only for the Party membership. While he is a patient listener and not at all voluble, every one of his remarks and comments counts. A few years ago, observing certain wrong tendencies in the methods of leadership of some District Organizers, Comrade Browder struck out sharply against these tendencies and gave a brilliant characterization of collective leadership which should guide us at all times. Comrade Browder declared:

"Examining the work of our district and section secretaries, for example, we find two wrong methods appearing time and time again. One is the method of the 'strong man' who goes into his committee with his mind already made up on everything without consultation, brushes aside all discussion except by 'yes-men' on the committee; who does not even bother to take a vote on disputed questions . . . who achieves unity of direction by what could be called intellectual 'strong-arm' methods. . . . The other wrong method is just the opposite; here there is plenty of freedom of discussion, but it is not directed toward welding a real unity of opinion, so that everyone goes out of the committee not with a united opinion, but with exactly the views he brought in. . . . Neither of these methods has anything in common with the Bolshevik conception of leadership; this is always collective, the gathering and welding together of the varied and supplementing qualifications of individuals, the arming of each one with the strength of all others . . . and thereby the multiplication of the leading powers of the Party, a thousandfold over that which any individual, even a genius, is capable of giving." (*The Communists in the People's Front,* pp. 98-100.)

The consistent pursuance of a Leninist policy in the training of cadres by our Party leadership, and especially guided by Comrade Browder, has paid heavy dividends to the Party, in these last ten years. This was particularly dramatized in the past eighteen months, when our Party has been under heavy attack by the bourgeoisie and all their Social-Democratic helpers, in an effort to isolate us and break our connections with the masses. The Party has come through this last period more united than ever before. It has

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extended its influence and activity, demonstrating continued strong ties with the progressive masses and especially the working class. It continues to grow, despite the extraordinary difficulties. Today it is engaged in a Browder Birthday Campaign, which has as one of its objectives the recruiting of 5,000 new members in a six-week period. It has demonstrated its ability to understand the deep-going changing relationship of forces, resulting from the second imperialist war and to reorientate the entire Party to face the new situation. It has unhesitatingly and persistently exposed the imperialist character of the war and of both imperialist blocs, especially the role of "our own" imperialism, and popularized the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union. It has fought the policy of American imperialist expansion pursued by Wall Street and the White House, the policy of dragging the United States into the imperialist war, and has undertaken to clarify and mobilize the American people against the policies of war and reaction at home —policies aimed at scuttling all the gains of labor and the people; at weakening and disorganizing the trade union movement unless it capitulates to the war policies of Roosevelt, Hillman and Green; at liquidating all democratic rights and entrenching fascist reaction in the country. The Party has demonstrated its ability to fulfill its vanguard role, to explain and expose each move of the bourgeoisie in its "step-by step" war policy, and "to point the way to the masses through the increasing chaos of reaction and war, without ever breaking its intimate contacts with the broadest mass movements and organizations." Under the growing attacks of the last eighteen months the great majority of Party cadres have demonstrated their political understanding and steadfastness. Increasing numbers have felt the lash of the Roosevelt war dictatorship; many have been sentenced to jail for long terms; but they conduct themselves in the same courageous manner worthy of Communists as the thousands of Americans who met the great test in the struggle for democracy in Spain—a democracy which was strangled through the collaboration of Roosevelt, Blum and Chamberlain with Hitler and Mussolini. Because of this type of political leadership on behalf of the masses, Earl Browder is today America's No. 1 political prisoner of the second imperialist war.

Today we face a new period when the bourgeoisie and Roosevelt are "convoying" us into the very heart of the second world imperialist war. By the time this article appears the "convoy policy" may be official government policy as it is today its de facto policy. Roosevelt has stated earlier that "convoys mean shooting and shooting means war," so that today we are on the brink of the final stage of involving our country in the war as a belligerent. Already the working class is learning that Roosevelt's past pledges to labor mean no more than his election pledge to "keep us out of war." Today the workers see and feel the war program as it is applied at home against strikes, by trying to

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"freeze" the wage standards while the cost of living goes up, and to "freeze" the open shop while the employers and the government strike at labor unions and labor leaders in the same way as they first struck at the Communists and our leader, Earl Browder.

Again new conditions present the Party with new cadre tasks. Among these we must stress the bold promotion and training of a still larger number of new, local working class forces into leadership, to guide the lower Party organizations which increased fivefold as a result of the organizing of groups, and to replace those of our leading cadres sent to jail for their opposition to America's participation in the imperialist war as well as of the ever-larger numbers being drafted.

In meeting the present-day cadre tasks, there is seldom heard the old cry of "no forces"; where it might still be raised it is indicative of a lagging behind the general development of the entire Party. We must recognize, however, that at times there is not sufficient boldness in the process of promotion. While it is true that we face the double difficulty of requiring a fivefold increase in local forces of leadership at the very time when we are having experienced cadres snached away from us, we should be guided by Stalin's advice:

". . . only those cadres are any good who do not fear difficulties, who do not hide from difficulties, but who, on the contrary, go out and meet difficulties, in order to overcome them and eliminate them. It is only in combating difficulties that real cadres are forged." *(Address to the Red Army Graduates.)*

Today, one-third of our Party membership are women comrades. Much more than ever before, we must turn our attention to these comrades in the promotion and training of the new cadres that we so badly need today. In the solution of this question, special training should be worked out and, above all, a helpful and comradely approach to the various family problems which many of our women comrades must solve, if they are to become effective cadres.

The solution of this important question of Party cadres, so decisive in the political development and maturity of our Party as a real Bolshevik Party, has made important headway in these past years; but it must never be considered as completely solved. We must strive to transform our cadres and raise them to higher capacities, to get them to cast off from the past everything that hinders this development. We must strive to help them, as Browder has taught us, toward a "radical reconstruction of the human personality; the ruthless searching out of every bad influence in one's political and personal life and the burning out of such influences with a red-hot iron and their replacement with the living contact of the constantly growing Bolshevik."

Such training, development and promotion of Party cadres have as their aim closer, more effective ties with the masses, learning from them while teaching them, and in this way creating indestructible ties between the Party and the masses.

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WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF THE YOUTH?

BY MAX WEISS

TENS of thousands of workers, young and old, are celebrating the fiftieth birthday of Earl Browder.

What does Browder's life-work mean to the young people of this country? What has he done for, and given to, America's youth?

The bourgeoisie is fond of talking about the "friends of youth." This term became quite fashionable in the years of the crisis. The youth were without jobs, often without homes and families, and without prospects for the future. They were referred to as the "lost generation," the generation without friends.

But the momentous struggles of the working class and the youth compelled the government to make concessions to the demands of the youth. The Roosevelt Administration began to follow a somewhat progressive policy toward the youth.

As a result, the bourgeoisie in the days of the "New Deal" began to refer to President Roosevelt and to Mrs. Roosevelt as the "friends of youth." The entire Roosevelt Administration went out of its way to cultivate this impression.

Of course, in those days, the sections of the bourgeoisie centered around the anti-New Deal camp disputed this title. They claimed that the Roosevelt Administration was "coddling" the youth. But, implicit even in this reactionary charge, was the admission that the Administration was doing things for the youth—according to these people, too much. Hence, even this fantastic charge was a backhanded recognition that there was validity to the title of "friends of youth."

Today, when all essential differences between these former enemies of the New Deal and the Roosevelt Administration have been eliminated in pursuit of a common program of imperialist war, even this partial reservation has been scrapped. All sections of the bourgeoisie refer to the Roosevelts as the "friends of youth." They have joined voices to scold the youth, to berate them, because, forsooth, the youth are not willing nowadays to follow the policies of their "friends."

"The youth are ungrateful to their friends," they say. "They are biting the hand that fed them."

But what are the policies of these so-called "friends of youth"?

Death on the battlefield of an imperialist war, sacrifices at home, militarization and regimentation of our young manhood, transformation

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of Federal youth aid into cheap labor projects for the "defense" program, conscription of girls for forced labor, destruction of all civil rights in America—this is the program offered to American youth by President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Is it any wonder that the masses of American youth are in increasing number beginning to question, to suspect and to repudiate these so-called friends of youth?

Such people are not friends! They are the deadly enemies of the youth!

But American youth does have friends, a multitude of them. And the greatest of these real friends of the youth is the man whose fiftieth birthday is now being celebrated, the leader of the Communist Party, Earl Browder.

What has Earl Browder done for the young people of America to be called their greatest friend? What has he given to these masses of youth—yes, even to those who do not as yet recognize this fact—to earn the proud honor of being a true friend of America's youth?

Earl Browder, more than any other living American, has put the key to the future into the hands of American youth. Millions of young people in the United States are against America's participation in the imperialist war. Yet, they see their will for peace flaunted by the bourgeoisie. They see America actually plunged into the war and dragged to the "shooting stage" of its participation in it.

What to do; what way out?

Earl Browder, the foremost exponent of Marxism-Leninism in the United States, has been teaching America's youth how to find the way out. His whole lifetime of work and struggle in the labor movement has been to bring to the masses of American workers and youth the knowledge of the way out that is contained in the science of Marxism-Leninism. It was this science that enabled the Russian proletariat under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin to find their way out of the first world imperialist war and to the establishment of socialism.

This is one of the basic reasons that the present young generation presents such a marked contrast to the young generation which went to its death in 1917 under the fatal illusion that it was really fighting for democracy. This is one of the basic reasons that today, unlike 1917, there is a tremendous and swelling movement among the masses of youth against participation in the imperialist war.

This characteristic difference between the two generations of 1917 and 1941 is the *bete noire* which haunts the dreams of all bourgeois ideologists. Their "best minds" have been set to work to examine this strange phenomenon. Here, for example, is the finding of that well-known bourgeois ideologue, Mortimer Adler:

> "The first World War produced a post-war generation. Its young men won a fight but lost what they were fighting for. Their lives had been interrupted, their purposes been undermined and their eyes opened. . . .
>
> "The second World War finds us with a pre-war generation. . . .
>
> "Considering their state of mind,

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one is tempted to say that the fathers have tasted war and the children's teeth are set on edge." (*Harpers Magazine,* October, 1940.)

Earl Browder, as the foremost leader of the revolutionary working class in the United States, stands at the head of that great movement composed of the most advanced sons of a previous generation whose "eyes were opened" following the last war.

It is because these lessons of the first imperialist war and the establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union have been absorbed by large masses of the advanced workers, and especially by big sections of the youth, that the present young generation resists being plunged to death on imperialist battlefields as was the generation that went before it.

This knowledge of what the 1917 experience meant did not come automatically to the workers and the youth. It was, for the most part, brought to them by the conscious, deliberate, far-sighted activity of those who grouped themselves around the banner of Communism, who absorbed the generalized experience of the working class of all countries as it has been systematized in the science of Marxism-Leninism, who fought as Communists and under the leadership of the Communist Party, headed by Earl Browder. It was brought to them, in the greatest measure, owing to the work of those who, with Earl Browder at their head, labored and fought ceaselessly through the two decades and more following the first imperialist war, to lay bare the hypocrisy of its slogans, to reveal the step-by-step preparations for a continuation of that imperialist war, to struggle against its outbreak.

By his brilliant work as leader of the Communist Party in bringing the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin to America's youth, and elaborating it on the basis of the experiences of the class struggle in the United States, Earl Browder made it possible for the present generation of youth to look into the dark clouds of imperialist war with a confidence of victory that the youth of a generation ago did not have.

"Your generation, it is true," wrote Browder in an article addressed to the youth, "is threatened with the brutal and senseless slaughter of a new world war. My generation was similarly threatened. But there are tremendous differences, and most of them are in favor of your generation. My generation had only the most confused ideas of how to fight against the warmakers, and understood very little about the world in which we live. Your generation has a fairly clear understanding of the world, and knows much better who are the warmakers and how to fight them. And your generation has powerful forces consciously working with it—the Soviet Union, and the labor and people's democratic movements all over the world.

"My generation was also dissatisfied with the world, and wanted to change it into something better. But it was very difficult to find out how we should go about that task. A multitude of advisers shouted their particular ideas at us, but there was little in our own experience or in

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the world of achievement about us, which could help us sift the false from the true. Only a fortunate few of us stumbled on the writings of Marx and Engels, and even then found them only in fragmentary and distorted translations.

"Your generation has available a rich treasure of the writings of the best teachers of mankind, in authentic and verified texts. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, are at your free disposal. . . .

"It can truly be said that your generation is fortunate, despite the terrible dangers that overhang the world, despite the difficult tasks to which you must turn your minds and hands. You have at your disposal those resources, the lack of which brought failure to my generation in America.

"Yes, rich treasures are yours for the taking. You can, by thought, effort and organization, become the masters of your own destiny. But these riches are yours only at the price of sustained study and understanding, of exertion of all your faculties to the utmost, and of organization of the thought and effort of many, of a growing multitude, in a great collective social movement." *(The Second Imperialist War,* pp. 51-52.)

The masses of youth, in increasing numbers, are beginning to follow the path toward becoming masters of their own destiny as outlined by Browder. They are in incresing numbers rejecting the path toward war and enslavement as outlined by Roosevelt. In this historic hour of trial in which all claims are tested in the crucible of world war, it is Earl Browder who stands out as the real friend of American youth, as the friend who has shown American youth what they are searching for: *the way out.*

A New Faith for American Youth

Earl Browder is the true friend of American youth because he is the finest representative in the United States of that great ideal of advanced humanity, socialism. Because he is the foremost exponent of that great ideal, he has been able to give the masses of youth a faith in themselves and their future which the bourgeoisie and its spokesmen are confessedly incapable of doing.

The burden of all bourgeois analyses of the youth problem ultimately reduces itself to the conclusion that what we are confronted with is a "generation in search of significant loyalties," that what is needed is a "new faith that youth can believe in." Such discussion has recently taken on very wide proportions. The bourgeoisie complains that the youth do not follow the old, time-honored slogans. They have lost "the faith of their fathers."

Hence, we have Vice President Henry Wallace saying:

"In order to win the psychological war, the battle of nerves, it is vital to define the difference between nazism and democracy, in such a way that the young people of the United States are wholeheartedly with us. The issue must be drawn not in terms of a short-time propaganda but as an everlasting reality. We must believe in the worthwhileness of that for which we are now fighting and for which we intend to fight with even greater passion when peace comes." *(New York Times,* April 9, 1941.)

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Exactly! The imperialists have been finding it increasingly difficult to define the difference between nazism and Roosevelt's "democracy" in such a way as to win the wholehearted support of American youth. The plain truth is that American youth is beginning to see more clearly every day how all the barbaric and hated practices of Hitler fascism are transplanted onto American soil by the Roosevelt Administration. They see the whole Hitler youth program of regimentation, forced labor camps, cheap labor, sub-standard work projects, conscription for girls, fascist health and fitness movements à la Hitler's "Strength Through Joy" introduced into the United States.

That is why the bourgeoisie cannot hold the youth to the "faith of their fathers." That is why the bourgeoisie clutters up its ideological workshops with shingles reading "Wanted: A New Faith For Youth."

But this is exactly what Earl Browder, the greatest and staunchest fighter for socialism in the United States, has inspired in the youth: a new spirit, the spirit of socialism. It is this which he ceaselessly emphasizes as the basis for the work of the Young Communist League:

". . . Without binding its members to a political program, the Y.C.L. must always cling fast to the 'spirit of socialism' as its guiding light. . . . In a day when capitalism is so palpably breaking down, when socialism is so magnificently succeeding in the Soviet Union, it is only the spirit of socialism that will finally snatch the young generation, so hungry for the full and free life which capitalism denies it, out of the clutches of a demagogic fascism." (*The Second Imperialist War*, p. 54.)

The fires are dying out on the altars of capitalism. Nor can all the huffing and puffing of Mrs. Roosevelt's vestal virgins among the youth rekindle them. The masses of American youth are looking for friends who will infuse them with a new spirit, the spirit of socialism; with a new faith, faith in the working class; with a new confidence, confidence in their ultimate victory.

Only such friends can welcome the mighty upsurge in the ranks of the youth, stimulate their struggles for peace, jobs and democracy, encourage them to develop their own movement against the resistance of the false friends of youth.

Those who fear the independent movement of the youth, the development of its initiative in fighting for its demands, expose themselves as enemies and not friends of youth.

It was this fear of the masses of youth, this hatred for their movement that lurked behind every word of that well-remembered speech delivered by President Roosevelt to the 5,000 delegates attending the Citizenship Institute in Washington.

The only advice this so-called friend of youth could offer the young people of America was that which bases itself on a consideration of youth in terms of cannon-fodder. The youth are not to pass resolutions on important matters! Such questions as war and peace and foreign policy must be left to

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"experts"! As for the youth—theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die!

On that occasion, and by his every act since then, President Roosevelt has fully revealed exactly what kind of "friend of youth" he is. It is finally becoming clear to the masses that President Roosevelt was motivated by something other than a high ideal when he described the establishment of the National Youth Administration as a worthwhile investment in youth. It is becoming clear today that President Roosevelt even then expected dividends from this investment, dividends in the form of a young generation that would passively march off to be slaughtered on the battlefields of an imperialist war.

How can those who hold out such a perspective for youth give them that faith in the future, those "significant loyalties" for which American youth searches? They cannot—and they are not!

It is only in the words and activity of Earl Browder that the youth find a steady, ringing call to enter freely and boldly upon the struggle for their demands, to express themselves openly, to unfold to the maximum their independent movement, to rally to the side of the working class, to develop their initiative in the fight to find the way out of the morass of mass unemployment, fascism and imperialist war under the leadership of the working class.

It was in this sense that Earl Browder helped the masses of youth appreciate the full significance of their broad movement and the new role they were beginning to play.

In particular, Comrade Browder emphasized the special task of the Communists as part of the broad youth movement:

"Let me turn briefly to the question of the youth, that most decisive section of the population, which is coming into political activity as never before in the history of our country, which is demonstrating the most healthy political development. It is necessary to refer to this question, especially because the very breadth and soundness of this great mass youth movement we have seen may give rise to notions in our Party ranks and among our leadership that there is nothing to worry about as far as this vital sector is concerned, that here everything is well and going ahead flourishingly. But that complacent attitude toward the youth movement would be the most dangerous thing for us in that it would overlook its most critical point, namely, that the youth is not Communist as the reactionaries tell us, that it is our job to bring Communism to the youth movement and really to educate the youth of America in Communism. This we have not yet begun to any serious, broad and deep extent; but that is the task our Party must take up in relation to the youth." *(The People Against the War Makers,* p. 28.)

This insistence upon tirelessly presenting the socialist solution to youth's problem arises from Browder's deep understanding of the forces at work among the youth, from his knowledge that their horrible experiences during the last decade have increasingly shattered their previous firm belief in the adequacy of the capitalist system; from the conviction that only socialism

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can today provide youth with the "significant loyalty" and the "new faith" for which they are searching, *and that therefore it is among the masses of toiling youth that the working class can, and must, find one of its strongest allies in the struggle to accomplish its historic goal.*

The Toiling Youth—Ally of the Working Class

It is this Leninist conception of the youth problem as one of winning allies for the working class, which Earl Browder has made the property of the whole revolutionary movement.

For this reason, Browder has worked continuously to mobilize the working class, and in the first place the Communist Party, to support the struggles of the toiling youth and by so doing win them as allies in its own fight. At his direct initiative and as a result of his ceaseless education of the entire Party into a comprehensive grasp of this Leninist-Stalinist approach to the youth question, the Communist Party established its present correct attitude to the task of winning the masses of toiling youth and to building the Young Communist League.

Under Browder's leadership, this task was rescued from the neglected category of secondary Party considerations to which it had been relegated by the sabotage of the Lovestoneite-Trotskyite enemies of the working class. It became a task for the entire Party and labor movement to concern itself with and, collectively, to solve.

This orientation which Earl Browder worked ceaselessly to give to our Party and to the working class was clearly expressed in his masterly report to the Eighth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., in 1934:

". . . The winning of the working class youth is the problem not of our youth organizations alone, but the problem of the entire Party. . . . Every Party unit, and every Party committee must take as a part of its daily concrete tasks, the work among youth, the establishment of their organizations, the solution of their political problems, and material help to their movement. The Young Communist League, instead of being less than a fourth the size of the Party, must be expanded in the next period to become larger than the Party; that means that the youth must find a serious place in the trade unions and other mass organizations; that it must be helped to politically enrich the life of its organizations, to concretize its struggles for the young workers' needs, to broaden out the scope of its activities, to include everything that interests, attracts, and holds the masses of young workers, also including their social, sports and cultural needs." *(Communism in the United States,* pp. 49-50.)

The consistent adherence of our Party to this orientation over the past years, especially since the Eighth Convention, has played a major role in making it possible for the Young Communist League to grow, to strengthen itself, to develop its leadership, to take its proper place within the broad youth movement, and to help it rally the youth in the fight for peace, jobs, democratic rights and socialism.

The personal attention paid by

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Earl Browder to the daily problems of the Young Communist League helped it shake off tendencies which in the past had led to a sectarian fear of the masses, encouraged it to plunge boldly into the stormy sea of the youth movement initiated under reactionary leadership, and made it possible for the Y.C.L. to identify itself actively with the powerful desire of the masses of youth for a united movement under democratic and progressive leadership.

At every stage in the further development of this broad youth movement, Browder's wise counsel helped guide the Y.C.L. in its relations with the varied strata of youth with which it united its forces. The many complicated problems which the Y.C.L. was called upon to solve in determining its orientation toward each special political force in the broad youth movement were lighted up by Browder's brilliant analysis of the great social issues confronting the masses.

The statement of Earl Browder that "the winning of the working class youth is the problem not of our youth organizations alone, but the problem of the entire Party" has significance not only for our Party. It is more than a simple statement of the policy of the Communist Party toward the Young Communist League. It is at the same time a statement of fundamental policy for the entire working class, especially the militant and progressive organized labor movement.

One of the signs of the growing maturity of the American labor movement is the extent to which it is beginning to understand and assume this task. The demonstrative entry of militant sections of the organized labor movement into the public arena as the champion of the American Youth Congress after its desertion by the Roosevelt Administration is an indication of this fact. It shows that this conception, presented with Marxist clarity by Earl Browder as the guiding policy for the Communist Party in its relation to the masses of youth, is at last—as a result of their own direct experiences—beginning to permeate broad sections of the organized labor movement.

In the same way—and also as a result of its own direct experiences—the consciousness which Browder gave to our Party that "the youth must find a serious place in the trade unions and other mass organizations" has begun to dominate the thinking of an increasing section of the organized labor movement. This development has been stimulated by the fact that hundreds of thousands of young workers have entered the trade unions in the last few years, fighting militantly in the great economic battles of the working class, and contributing by their great activity, devotion and heroism to the strengthening of the organized labor movement. It was as a registration of this new fact that John L. Lewis, at the last convention of the C.I.O., called upon these new young trade unionists to take their proper place in the councils of labor.

Most significant of all from a historical point of view is the related conclusion to which a growing sec-

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tion of the trade union movement has come. Out of the practical daily requirements of the fight to strengthen the trade union movement it now sees that it "must take as part of its daily concrete tasks, the work among youth, the establishment of their organizations, the solution of their political problems, and material help to their movement."

Thus, in a number of places, trade unions have responded to the desires of the working youth and adopted the policy of helping them establish sports movements, youth clubs and community centers for the special youth activity of themselves and their friends.

The profound significance of this development consists in the fact that the organized working class, in response to the active demands and militant self-activity of the working youth, is at last beginning to challenge the hitherto undisputed monopoly which the bourgeoisie has had over the organization of the masses of youth. More than in any other country in the world, the American bourgeoisie has succeeded in building an extensive and widely ramified network of youth organizations financed by it, controlled by it, and devoted to the task of impregnating the masses of youth from their earliest years with the spirit of class collaboration, with the spirit of pious respect for the hallowed sanctity of private privilege and profit, with the spirit of loyalty to the bourgeoisie and its institutions.

For this reason, assistance to the youth in the establishment of their own organizations and activities based on the trade unions is the historic task of the American working class. Built in the form of labor sport organizations, union sponsored cultural and recreational activities, union community centers, such mass organizations of the working class youth would give direct working class leadership to the hundreds of thousands of young workers who are ready to accept it, would educate the toiling youth in the principles of loyalty to the trade union movement, would win them for and activize them within the trade unions, would rally them for independent working class political action and would carry on a militant activity among the youth against the imperialist war and for the daily needs of the youth. A mass working class youth movement consisting of a network of such organizations would act as the backbone of the broad youth movement, cementing its alliance with the labor movement.

The teachings of Earl Browder on the youth question have contributed immeasurably toward equipping our Party and Young Communist League for the mobilization of the working class and youth to accomplish this historic task.

Earl Browder—Teacher of the Youth

Earl Browder not only equipped our Party and the labor movement with a correct understanding of the fundamental character of the youth question and its relation to the general struggles of the working class. He also helped clarify, for applica-

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tion in the United States, Lenin's fundamental teachings on the character and role of the Young Communist League, the most militant and advanced section of the progressive youth movement.

In doing this, Comrade Browder showed his thorough mastery of Lenin's cardinal teachings on the youth movement and his profound ability to convey them to the Young Communist League in the most inspiring manner.

That is why Earl Browder, the friend of American youth, is also the teacher of American youth.

Even the bourgeoisie has been compelled, indirectly and not with the best of intentions, to admit that fact. Mrs. Roosevelt herself has given such unwitting testimony. A few months ago, she said that young Communists are able to convince young people of their policies because they are taught to speak effectively and articulately.

Of course, Mrs. Roosevelt, who now aspires to the laurels of Mrs. Dillinger as First Red Baiter, implied that all youth who speak up for peace are Communists. But it is not only the Communist youth who speak up for peace. It is the masses of youth, the great majority of whom are not Communists, who speak up effectively and articulately for peace. Nor will they be intimidated by the Red-baiting of Mrs. Roosevelt.

What is absolutely true, however, is that the Communist youth are trained and taught. This training is not, however, simply in the art of elocution and public speaking. If that were all that was required, then the highly paid spell-binders employed by the bourgeoisie would have a field day.

No, the Communist youth have been taught, and are being taught, something else!

Their teacher is Earl Browder, leader of the Communist Party. Our Communist youth, and under their influence the masses of youth, are be taught to be youth of the Browder type. Under the leadership of Earl Browder, the entire Young Communist League has been transformed in character so that it aspires to be a veritable school of communism for youth.

Earl Browder has taught the youth how to mold their character as fighters for the interests of the working class.

". . . And for the Young Communist League, as a specific sector in the united front of the young generation," wrote Browder, "the guiding thought will, in all probability be found to be something like this: 'Character Building and Education in the Spirit of Socialism.'. . .

"By character building is meant the accumulation of consistent work, which best fits the individual into society and equips him to sustain and improve society, making him a strong and reliable individual within the collective life. It means making the strong individual without contradicting the collectivity of his fellow individuals. It means establishing as habits of life, those attitudes and relationships from which will best grow up strong and healthy social organizations from the smallest to the most general and all-embracing. It means the systematic combating and elimination

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of the destructive influences of a disintegrating capitalist system upon the individual, the family and society. Education that goes to accomplish these things must be, in the first place, character building, must create fighters for these ends: men and women who can stay put, who can be relied upon, who are not swayed from day to day, and year to year, by the winds of circumstance." *(The Second Imperialist War,* pp. 53-54.)

This is the revolutionary conception of character building that Earl Browder teaches the youth. And from the life and work of Earl Browder himself, the youth has learned to develop those traits of character which are necessary and indispensable in every fighter for the interests of the working class, in every fighter for socialism. The personal example given to youth by Earl Browder of the most unshakable loyalty to the interests of the working class, of the greatest firmness on all matters of principle, of modesty of behavior, of self-sacrificing hard work and deep earnest study, of courage in the struggle against the class enemy—this is the example upon which American youth must model its own character. It is this that Earl Browder has been teaching the youth and it is in this spirit that Earl Browder has reared a whole generation of leaders of the Y.C.L.

What can the representatives of imperialism teach the youth?

Subserviency to the bourgeois exploiters, servility to Wall Street's criminal aims, the corrupt ideals of bourgeois society, the art of unscrupulous demagogy designed to fool the youth into supporting a criminal, reactionary war—this is all that the ideologists of imperialism can teach the youth.

The model of one who has been thus taught is the $4,000-a-year "youth leader," Joe Lash, who has learned very well indeed the fine art of switching alliances to suit "the winds of circumstance"—and the desires of the bourgeoisie.

What a model for youth!

No! American youth will model themselves after young people of the Browder type, after those heroes of the struggle of the working class youth symbolized by Dave Doran, whose names loom larger with every passing year; after the countless thousands of youth who carry on the fight today for which these heroes gave their lives.

They will model themselves and their character after that great leader of the American working class, Earl Browder, friend and teacher of American youth.

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EARL BROWDER AND THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE

BY ROB FOWLER HALL

IT MUST have occurred to tens of thousands of people as it has to us in the South that the persecutors of Earl Browder unintentionally performed a profoundly symbolic act when they manacled Browder between two Negroes in that historic journey to prison in the heart of Georgia.

For this is the lesson which Comrade Browder has emphasized to the Communist Party in the South; that the unity of Negro and white is the keystone upon which the struggles of the Southern people must be based if they are to achieve success.

The entire Party is aware of the struggles which Comrade Browder has led to root out from the working class all remnants of white chauvinism as an influence of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Likewise, the position which our Party has taken, and fought for, under the leadership of Browder, for full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people, is well known.

But, for the Party in the South, Comrade Browder has made a special contribution on this question. Perhaps the clearest and most forceful (if informal) formulation of it came in one of his unforgettable summaries after discussion, in this instance before a meeting of the National Committee of the Party in January, 1933.

". . . We must say a word about this tendency that we have noticed in many places . . . to say 'Now we have the Negroes. What we need now is to get the whites,' and then to proceed to get the whites by soft-pedaling the Negro issue. This, of course, is a most dangerous tendency. You can't get either the whites or the Negroes that way. In the first place, we haven't got either of them. We must win whites, too, in order to win the Negroes. But in order to win the whites, we have to win them on the issue of Negro rights; otherwise you haven't won them at all. You haven't won anything. *The Negro question is one of our principal channels in winning the whites.* It may seem an obstacle but, like many of our obstacles, we can transform them into instruments of strength for us. We can make it clear during the struggle that the division between white and Negro defeats them." (*The Communist*, April, 1933. *My emphasis—R.F.H.*)

When Browder speaks, as he often does, of our "pride" that we are called "the party of the Negroes" or "the Negro party," what could

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be more appropriate than that he should voice this pride in the South to Southern audiences!

Our Party has always had some sympathizers among Southern white workers who maintain that they agree *with* us *wholly*, or that they agree with us on all issues, except on the Negro question. These "well-wishers" have time and again counseled us to soft-pedal the Negro question in our approach to the mass of Southern white workers and farmers. In 1936 Comrade Browder toured the South in the course of the election campaign and spoke over the radio and at public meetings in the principal cities.

In every such address, Comrade Browder not only did not soft-pedal our basic position for full social, political and economic equality, but emphasized it with his characteristic sharpness which left no doubts in any one's mind. Our confused friends were deeply chagrined at Comrade Browder's "mistake." But the results then—as they have always been when this policy was followed—were a strengthening of our support among the Negro workers and a growing response from white workers who recognized that the Communist Party alone had the solution to that biggest of all Southern questions, the Negro question.

Today we are finding new confirmation of the correctness of this policy, not only in the daily experience of our Party, but also in the solid growth of the C.I.O. unions, especially in recent months, in the Birmingham industrial district.

In sharp contrast to this clear Marxist-Leninist policy is the opportunist policy of the Socialist Party in the South which, precisely because of its opportunism on the Negro question, has won neither Negro nor white workers in the Southern states.

Comrade Browder was able to provide the Southern Party with this correct line because of his own profound understanding of the South, its history and traditions, as an integral part of his Marxist-Leninist knowledge of American history. It was with the encouragement of Browder that our Party began to examine the history of the South. The last direct message which this writer had from Comrade Browder was, "Study the history of the South"; it is here passed on to our comrades in the Southern Party for the highly valuable directive that it is.

Comrade Browder has thus been able to characterize the particular social relationships in the South with accuracy and with a clarity that illuminates the entire problem:

"The South has for generations been the stronghold of reaction, the one place in America where modern capitalism was fused—in its most parasitic aspects—with remnants of feudalism, of pre-capitalist society; and, on the basis of that fusion of parasitic capitalism and pre-capitalist survivals, the South has played a deadly role in the political life of all America." (*The Communist*, July, 1938.)

Comrade Browder has nevertheless never been pessimistic about the South. Because he has mastered Stalin's teachings on the national

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question, he has taught us how to apply them to the Negro question in the South. Knowing how unity of Negro and white, forged in the struggles for democracy in 1865-75 and again in the Populist days, led to great popular victories, he has been able to anticipate with calm confidence the changes that are taking place in the South under the leadership of the proletariat, to point out the progressive forces available as reserves of the proletariat, and to indicate the necessary direction of our work here.

Simultaneously with showing us what is distinctive in the Southern picture, Comrade Browder has taught us to avoid the pitfalls of Southern exceptionalism. In an address before the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia in 1936, in which he projected a Farmer-Labor Party, he said:

"This program is of a special interest to the toilers of the South, white and Negro, but especially the Negro people who are the most exploited of working people and who are denied the right to live as human beings. There can be no freedom for the Negro people and no prosperity for the toilers of the South until the demands of the progressive platform are realized.

"There has been much talk that the special problems of the South can be solved only in some peculiar Southern way. We say that the domination of Wall Street in the South is aggravated by the remnants of semi-feudal and serf relations. It is these hangovers from slavery that enabled Wall Street to establish the vicious system of wage differentials, to cite one example.

"Those shackles which prevent the full economic development of the South, those restrictions on civil liberties, those denials of full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people, can only be smashed if white and black toilers unite, if in the South and North, East and West, the American people rally to defeat the threat of reaction and fascism, and in the South smash once and for all the remnants of slavery and serfdom. This is the only way freedom and prosperity can be won for the South." (*The People's Front*, pp. 111-112.)

Discussing the issue of state's rights in 1937, Comrade Browder said:

". . . But the issue is very narrowly posed, as yet, between the two major groupings. For us this issue is much deeper and more far-reaching. That this issue can exist at all is a sign of the incomplete national unification of the country. The American bourgeoisie was never able fully to unite our country into one nation; it compromised with all sorts of localisms and particularisms which divide the people. These divisions, originating under the influence of pre-capitalist forces (slavery, landlordism, colonialism), have now been taken over by the upper bourgeoisie as its strongholds in the fight against the people. That is why the Republican Party, originally a party of national unity, has been transformed into the party of localism against the nation.

"This setting of the locality against the nation, the part against the whole, is used to paralyze all efforts at social legislation, and to prevent further democratization. Only by fuller, more complete na-

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tional unification can the economic problems of the masses be even approached; only thus can effective democracy be established. Through breaking down the judicial dictatorship and by setting up a national electoral system that guarantees in life the rights of citizenship promised in the Constitution, can we abolish all restrictions on the franchise and provide direct and proportional representation in each state. It is towards this more complete conception of national unity that we Communists must direct the thought of the broad people's movement. In doing this we will continue under the conditions of today that democratic work begun by Washington, Jefferson and Paine, and continued by Lincoln. We Communists must become known as the most energetic champions of the full national unification of our country." (*Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.)

It was with such analyses as this that Comrade Browder prepared the party for the developments that were to take place in the South, first in the New Deal period when the democratic strivings of the people were to receive encouragement, small as it was, from the national administration, and since, in the further maturing of the people's movement under conditions of imperialist war and growing war-dictatorship.

Many of Comrade Browder's articles and speeches refer to this changing situation and focus attention on the South.

Toward a New South

Returning East after a trip South in September, 1937, Comrade Browder told a Boston audience:

". . . Tens of thousands of our friends are only awaiting a serious invitation to join our ranks.

"How true this is was brought home to me sharply last week-end when I attended the Southern States Conference of the Communist Party in Chattanooga, Tennessee. In a hall of the City Auditorium gathered 130 delegates from eleven Southern states, Negro and white, men and women, larger and more representative than the Seventh Convention of our party for the whole United States.

"What a transformation is coming over the old reactionary Solid South; it is breaking up, a new Solid Progressive South is in process of birth, and in the midst of it works and grows the Communist Party." (*Ibid.*, p. 248.)

The entire Southern party was inspired and encouraged by similar remarks of Comrade Browder in his summary at the conclusion of the Party's Tenth Convention.

"There is just one more feature of our convention I want to speak about . . . the importance of the participation in this convention of our delegations from the Southern states and the significance this has for all of America, the significance this has in the further maturing of the Negro liberation movement. The South in America has for generations been a stronghold of reaction. . . .

"But that old 'Solid South' is melting away. We see the signs of it not only in those great political developments I spoke of in my report, but we know how to evaluate the significance of the appearance of even a small Commu-

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nist Party. We know the enormous significance of the appearance at this convention of a delegation from the states of the South, which took part right along, side by side, with the delegations from all over America, and dealt with the problems of the South in exactly the same way and with the same perspective that our party is dealing with the problems of all America.

"We must draw a certain conclusion from that for the political perspective for all America." (*The Communist*, July, 1938.)

It was during the Tenth Convention that the writer, together with other Southern Communists, conferred with Comrade Browder to concretize a plan of work based on Browder's proposal of national legislation to abolish the poll tax and guarantee the right to vote for the Negro people. Today, when we rejoice at the high level of the people's movement for a free ballot in the South, when the poll tax has become an issue of such nationwide importance that slogans for its abolition are shouted from coast to coast and reactionary politicians must work overtime to keep anti-poll tax legislation off the floor of Congress, we cannot escape the conclusion that the Communists can claim for their leader, Earl Browder, a considerable portion of the credit for this improved state of affairs. (But if we are disposed toward any feeling of complacency about this, we are spurred on by the certainty that Comrade Browder would chide us: "This is only the beginning.")

Comrade Browder has never permitted the Party to forget the real South, the agrarian South with its million Negro sharecropping families, living in semi-peonage and destitution, and its relationship to the movement for Negro liberation. At the Tenth Convention, he said:

"I want to speak about a certain phase of our work which is of the most burning significance for the people of the country—that is, the organization of the Negro liberation movement to involve the whole mass of the Negro people. This movement embraces the great majority of the Negroes in the North. It is only beginning to embrace the main masses of the Negroes there where the Negroes have their feet upon the ground, on the land, down South.

"Important as our work is among the Negroes in the North, let us never forget that this work gets its main importance because it gives us channels to reach and organize and rouse the main masses of the Negro people on the land in the Southern states." (*Ibid.*, pp. 595-596.)

The role of the poll-tax Congressmen and Senators in the present situation is not basically different from their role over the past two decades. However, in the New Deal period their power for evil was somewhat checked by the division which existed among their own bourgeoisie, and by the fact that they were opposed by a progressive movement which had the support of sections of the Northern bourgeoisie, including the President of the United States. In the present period they represent the noisiest spokesmen, the main floor leaders

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and propagandists, for the Wall Street-Roosevelt program of reaction and war.

This influential, almost decisive role of the South in national politics was recognized by Comrade Browder in his summary remarks at the Tenth Convention:

"We who want to change the course of our country, who want to turn our country away from the path that is charted out for it by the economic masters of our land, who want to block once and forever the road to reaction and fascism, if we are really practical politicians we must keep our eyes on the South. Not only our Southern comrades, but the entire party has the task to win the South for the democratic front." (*Ibid.*, p. 596.)

Although the emphasis was especially timely, this was certainly not the first time Comrade Browder had made such a statement. Since 1930 the National Committee, under Browder's leadership, had devoted great attention to the South. As Comrade Browder wrote, in connection with the publication of the Report on Economic Conditions of the South by the President's National Emergency Council:

"For many years the Communist Party has been deeply concerned with these problems of the South, so well summarized by the report. . . . We have suffered great hardships to maintain the growing Southern movement. Hundreds of our best men and women have risked their lives in pioneer work for the rising Southern labor movement and the Negro liberation movement, and many have given their lives in this cause." (*New Masses*, Aug. 23, 1938.)

Comrade Browder can therefore speak of the South both from a wealth of practical experience and on the basis of a Leninist-Stalinist understanding of the relation of forces in the South. For the South he emphasizes the ultimate conclusion: that while it is necessary for Communists to struggle for every feature of a minimum program for the South, uniting the people behind a Farmer-Labor Party, it is for us also to teach that:

". . . the South requires socialism for its full emancipation from the terrible conditions revealed in the report. For that is in truth an inescapable conclusion for all who would dig down to the very roots of the problem. The Soviet Union with its socialist system is revealing, in its own development of its many constituent republics, especially those formerly most exploited under tsarism, how economic deserts under capitalism quickly became blooming gardens under socialism." (*Ibid.*)

Comrade Browder has answered for us the main political and organizational questions about the South. It remains for the party organizations, especially those in the South, to study and apply the teachings of Browder so that when his prison doors are forced open Comrade Browder will find a stronger party leading a united people, including a united Southern people, toward complete equality, freedom and prosperity.

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OUR DEBT TO EARL BROWDER

BY WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

THE gates of Atlanta Penitentiary are nearly three thousand miles from the Pacific Coast, and yet Earl Browder's imprisonment and enforced absence from our ranks are keenly felt by his fellow-workers in California as everywhere in the country. This is so, not only because Browder is a national leader of progressive America, but because he has made special contributions to the labor and progressive movement of the West Coast, where his keen vision, his masterly ability to find the key to every problem, and his calm and inspiring confidence in the working class have left an indelible impression on the work of the Communist Party and the mass movement.

* * *

In 1936 the progressive political movement of the country began to take on a democratic front character. In California, the remnants of the Epic movement, which, in 1934, had almost swept Upton Sinclair into office, became a Left-wing minority in the Democratic Party, fighting the McAdoo leadership and giving qualified support to President Roosevelt. The Epics ran their own slate, nominally pledged to Upton Sinclair, in the Presidential primaries of 1936 against the Roosevelt-McAdoo slate, and were able to poll 100,000 votes in the Democratic primaries.

The Communist Party publicly campaigned for a united front with the Epics and other progressive-labor forces, and made every effort to collaborate with them on issues on which common agreement could be reached. In the course of this campaign, we were confronted with two problems, in the solution of which Comrade Browder played an exceptionally important role. One was the antagonism and distrust displayed by some of the Epic leaders toward the Communist Party, an aftermath of our generally correct criticism of the Epics during the Sinclair campaign. Comrade Browder, in the course of his tour of California during the Presidential campaign of 1936, was mainly responsible for eliminating this obstacle to united front activities. In his personal contact with the Epic leaders, including Upton Sinclair himself, he made it clear that the Communist Party frankly acknowledged the mistakes it had made in the past, in its dealings with the Epics, but insisted on the Party's right to speak critically, in friendly fashion, of their mistakes as well, pointing out that this did not interfere with the common grounds that

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existed for united struggle against reaction and fascism. The impression he made was reflected in a friendly article by Upton Sinclair, published in the *Daily Worker*, in which the latter described his interview with Earl Browder and their mutual agreement on the main issues of the day.

Equally important were the huge meetings which Comrade Browder addressed, in Los Angeles and San Francisco, where large numbers of Epics and other progressive Democrats were present, in which he spoke directly to their rank and file, in his characteristically clear and simple manner. We had been working for many months to establish friendly collaboration with progressive Democrats; but it can be said that it was at the Browder meetings that the united front between the Communists and progressive Democrats was born. The most common comment among the Democrats, who had seen and heard him for the first time, was that they were mainly impressed with Browder's sincerity. (There are many officials in the Democratic Party, some holding high office, who might be embarrassed to be reminded today, when they have joined the war camp, of their expressions of admiration, respect, and approval of Browder's role in the democratic movement.) After one big meeting, one official of the Democratic Party came to the Communist headquarters to express his amazement at the Party's ability to get such a huge mass turnout, and to ask that Browder's speech should be mimeographed and sent out to all registered Democrats.

The second big problem confronting us was the sectarian attitude of some Epic leaders and progressive Democrats. Their bitterness toward the McAdoo-Creel leadership, who had gone over to the Republicans in the 1934 campaign, and their mistrust of Olson, who had deserted them to join with McAdoo in the 1936 Presidential primaries, resulted in tendencies to form prematurely a third party, which would have left the great mass of progressive workers, farmers, and middle-class elements still remaining in the Democratic Party leaderless. Comrade Browder played a big part in turning the attention of the progressives to fighting for a progressive policy within the Democratic Party. The fruits of this advice helped to broaden the Left-wing minority in the Democratic Party of 1936 into the progressive majority of 1938, which not only became the dominant group in the Democratic Party, but won the great election victory of that year—the first time in over forty years that the Democratic Party had come into power in California.

* * *

Another characteristic development of the mass movement in California was the rapid rise of the pension movement, which in two elections, in 1938 and 1939, had over a million supporters. The $30-a-week pension plan, with all its faults, represented a great people's movement striving for social security. The Communist Party adopted a friendly attitude to this movement, while criticizing its inflationary proposals for financing the pensions. But when the measure was placed on the ballot for a ref-

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erendum vote, it was at Comrade Browder's initiative that the Party in California decided to urge a "Yes" vote, in spite of our disagreements with certain phases of the measure. Comrade Browder and other members of the Political Committee pointed out that a victory for the pension measure would be a blow to the reactionary opponents of all social security measures, and would be a sharp warning to the New Deal forces who were shamefully neglecting the pension problem and thus playing into the hands of the reactionary "economy blocs." If the $30-a-week plan were adopted and did not work, it would force the Administration to enact a workable pension plan. Experience proved our united front policy to be correct, and established a basis for friendly cooperation between the Party and the rank and file of the pension movement.

* * *

There are many other valuable contributions made by Comrade Browder to the progressive mass movement in California, in the trade union field, on the cultural front, and others. But the one that left the most profound effect was his constant emphasis on improving the political quality of our work, on building the type of Party leadership which would be able to meet any test. In May, 1939, he was present at a State Conference of the Party; it was shortly after the progressive election victories of 1938. A new administration had come into office in the state, and in the Los Angeles city government; Tom Mooney had been freed; the Party was rapidly growing and had polled 100,000 votes for Anita Whitney, and 150,000 votes for Leo Gallagher, who, although not a member of the Communist Party, had consented to run at our invitation on the Communist Party ticket.

Comrade Browder took this occasion to warn the Party against any tendency that might develop of being "dizzy with success," and against thinking of the growth of the Party in mere numbers. Among other things, he said:

"America is not a stranger to movements and organizations that grow fast. In fact, it is one of the characteristics of America that movements rise up almost overnight, gather hundreds of thousands and even millions of members, make a great noise and a tremendous impression on the public mind and then disappear almost as fast as they arose. In the past history of the American people, in the past 50 or 60 years, how many great movements have arisen and disappeared, and today are only a memory? . . .

"We don't want the Communist movement to be one of those mushroom growths that will disappear as fast as it appears and merely write another chapter for the antiquarians to ponder over in coming generations. We want to build a permanent organization, because our goal is not only the immediate goal. The immediate problems of the people are our starting points, but upon that basis we are looking ahead to the complete reconstruction of America, and of American social and economic life, and we must build in such a way that every year marks an advance, every year the Party is more solid, more firmly based, more sure of itself, more the master of its own problems and the

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problems of the American people. . . .

"We have to have a better leadership of our Party in order that our Party can give a better leadership to the mass movement. And a better leadership of the Party means a crystallization of collective leading groups beginning with the branch, which learns how to fuse all the best qualities of our Party in its neighborhood, to multiply the political influence of our Party and not merely add numbers one by one. If you have one Communist you have one unit of the energy of the Party and its political influence, but when you get five Communists together, working as an organized body, that should represent, not only the equivalent of five units, but those five who get together, working together, should multiply one another's capacity and influence and the net result should be equivalent to five times five. That is the principle upon which our small Party exerts a great influence in the country. This principle of collective teamwork, working together, supplementing one another, creating something new which is more than just a sum of the individuals brought together; this is the very principle of Communist organization, the very principle of the leadership of the Party over great masses.

"In emphasizing this aspect of the collectivity of our work, we don't want to overlook the role of the individual. We are now entering a stage of our Party development when we can say that everything is going to depend for a time upon the raising of the level of the individual contribution of the individual Party member. Our great task is education, the education of the masses by the collective work of the Party, the education of the Party by the collective work of the leading committees. But the foundation of all of this must more and more be self-study and self-education. That is the raw material at the foundation of all the collective work, and on its quality will depend everything else. All that the Party can do as a collective body in the raising of the political capacity of the Party as a whole, and of each individual member, is to create better conditions for this self-education. And how much we realize out of these better conditions will in each case depend on the individual member himself. We must stress very heavily now individual responsibility, the individual contribution in mastering the problems of our communities and the political program of the Party, mastering Bolshevik theory and mastering the Bolshevik adjustment to the conditions of life around us. . . .

"It is not enough to listen to a speech, or to read a pamphlet or a book. The test of whether we understand it or not is: Are we able to transmit it to those people who are least prepared for it, so that this political thought of our Party penetrates through the broadest masses of the people and determines the direction of their thinking and begins to guide their actions? . . .

"In the membership of our Party we have the material out of which we must create the future leaders of the people of our state and nation. They must bind themselves so closely to the masses of the people that in the great changes that are to come, and that are already in preparation, the people will naturally and inevitably put forward our people as their best representatives. Leadership is not something that can be created by political maneuvers. Leadership of the masses is, first of all, the winning of the trust

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and confidence of the masses. Without that you can't move an inch. That is what we have got to get, and when we get that, everything else will follow. . . .

"In order to achieve that, we must be able to speak in such a way that our words are not merely the disturbance of the air, but that they bring illumination to the minds of our listeners, and that our actions and our work are so consistent and so reliable that all of the people who come in contact with us will learn to trust us, will learn to know that our word is even better than another man's bond, and to know that we 'stay put,' that we can always be found where we should be, and that they can rely upon us. . . .

"And, finally, we have to learn that in order to be leaders of the masses we not only must be a step ahead of them, and be teaching them, but that we must be in the closest connection with them and learn from them. This interchange between the Party and the masses, of teaching and learning, is a mutual relationship and runs both ways. Modesty is a very essential quality for a Communist Party and for Communists, leaders and individual members of the Communist Party. . . .

"We must put our Party among the masses and at the head of the masses, and through the quality of our thinking, and the quality of our work, win such unconditional loyalty of the masses to our political program, to our Party and to its leadership, that our Party will not only be an inevitable, an indispensable part of the democratic front, but that through that work it will secure the position where it can lead the majority of the American people to the complete reconstruction of our country on the basis of socialism."

This speech of Browder's, in different times and under different conditions, rings doubly true today, and is a reflection of his own great qualities of leadership. It was the last speech Comrade Browder was allowed to deliver in person in California.

The imperialist war smashed the old alignments. Roosevelt became the leader of the imperialist war camp, Browder became the leader of the fight against American involvement in the war. The results of his wise leadership are more evident today than ever, even while he is in jail, for the Party has an unerring guide in Comrade Browder's teachings and his own example of leadership and courage.

Browder's last speech in California, before his imprisonment, was one that he was not allowed to deliver in person, during the 1940 Presidential election campaign. It was delivered by electrical transcription at a memorable meeting at Olympic Auditorium, Los Angeles, and closed with these prophetic words:

"The economic royalists and their servants are riding high, and gleefully congratulate themselves that the masses have been hogtied, that nothing can now spoil their plans for a great imperialist speculation with the blood and lives of the American people. But the fight is only begun. Notwithstanding all difficulties and hardships, the American people cannot forever be tricked, bulldozed and suppressed. They are fighting back with increasing numbers, energy, intelligence and determination. And the final victory will belong to the people."

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SPACE AND TIME—FORMS OF THE EXISTENCE OF MATTER

BY GEORGE KURSANOV

*III. Dialectical Materialism on Space and Time**

DIALECTICAL materialism views space and time as the forms of the existence of matter. The universe is matter in motion. Matter moves in space and time, which are the necessary conditions for the existence of matter. The motion of any material body, all processes and all phenomena, take place in space and in time. It is impossible to imagine anything existing out of space, or out of time. The movement of all material bodies, of phenomena and processes, the movement of matter as a whole is motion in space and time.

Matter, motion, space and time are considered by dialectical materialism in their natural, logical connection. The successful study of the properties of space and time is possible only in their relation to the motion of matter.

Dialectical materialism conceives space and time as forms of matter in motion, maintaining that their foundation is matter itself and its properties.

We are thus stressing two points. First, that all the properties of space and time are derived in the last analysis from the properties of matter and its motion; it is impossible, therefore, to derive the properties of space and time from any a priori intuition, etc., but they derive exclusively from the properties of moving matter. In the second place, space and time are the *forms* of the existence of matter; they have just this specific *form* and are not identical with any specific material process: Space is not gravitation, time is not life and death—they are merely corresponding forms of the given material processes which can occur only in space and time.

Space and Time Are Inseparable

Contemporary physics has clearly demonstrated the inadequacy of the definition of space and time given by classical physics, the definition which metaphysically severed them, conceiving them as two independently existing absolute entities.

The theory of relativity revealed the inadequacy of this narrow con-

* This is the third section of this essay, the first two parts of which appeared in the April and May issues of *The Communist*. The concluding part of the third and final section will appear in our July number. The essay was originally published in the Soviet philosophical and socio-economic periodical, *Pod Znamieniem Marxizma* ("Under the Banner of Marxism") for June, 1940.—*Ed.*

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ception and established the inseparable unity of time and space.

This connection was established by the theory of relativity as the result of the investigation of the processes of motion, and is indisputable from any point of view. First, because this connection reflects the unity and inseparability of matter, the existence of which is possible only in space and in time. Space and time are the forms of existence of matter; their separation is impossible by virtue of the nature of matter. In the second place, the movements of material bodies and of phenomena and process can take place only in time and in space. Any change in the material world occurs at a definite historical moment and in a definite point of real space.

A motion out of space or out of time is a fiction. One of the founders of the theory of relativity, specifically of the theory concerning space and time, Hermann Minkowski, has expressed his thought in a very original manner; "Nobody has ever noticed a place except at a time, or a time except at a place."*

Thirdly, classical physics based upon the metaphysical conception of separated time and space proved to be incapable of explaining a number of physical phenomena which were satisfactorily explained by the theory of relativity (the motion of micro-particles of matter with the velocities of the order of the velocity of light; deflection of a ray of light by a material body past which it travels; the "erratic" declinations of the perihelion of Mercury, etc.).

All this confirms the value of the new concepts of the connection of time and space advanced by the theory of relativity, an organic, an inner dialectical connection. It follows that space and time possess a number of common properties.

But this unity and connection which determine the common properties of space and time do not exclude in any way their differences, *i.e.*, the peculiarities of the spatial form of existence of matter as distinguished from the temporal form.

The following scheme for the analysis of space and time can be set forth. First: establishment of the general properties common to both space and time; second: elucidation of certain specific properties which characterize space alone and time alone. In both these cases the properties of space and time are defined by the properties of matter: they are the forms of its existence; it is their content.

In this article we do not consider space and time in greater detail than is found in the classics of Marxism ("forms of the existence of matter"). A finished, logical definition of a concept can be given in either of two ways: (a) by subsuming the particular concept under a general; (b) by the analytical method, *i.e.*, in terms of progressively simpler concepts. However, it is exceedingly difficult to define space and time by the analytical method because such a definition as "space is the order of objects" defines nothing, while it is impossible to define space and time by

* Hermann Minkowski, "Space and Time," in *The Principle of Relativity*, a collection of essays by H. A. Lorentz, A. Einstein, H. Minkowski and H. Weyl. Dodd, Mead, New York, 1923, p. 76.

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subsuming them under a general concept, since they themselves are the most general of concepts. Lenin pointed out that ultimate concepts (limiting concepts) are incapable of definition.

Our task therefore is, relying on the classic Marxist definition of space and time as the forms of the existence of matter, to consider and formulate a number of properties of time and space, both common and specific.

The Absoluteness and the Relativity of Space and Time

Matter is objective and absolute. It is independent of all forces or causes; it is the sole substance and cause of all changes.

The forms of the existence of matter—space and time—are also objective and absolute. The existence of material bodies, the motion of matter, occur in space and time independently of any "transcendental" forces and are absolute and objective.

Space and time are inseparably connected with the motion of matter, the latter being absolute and objective. Space and time are therefore absolute and objective in the same degree. The Kantian thesis that space and time are subjective while matter is objective is, at bottom, nonsensical. Dialectical materialism rejects the subjectivity of space and time and asserts their objectivity and absoluteness.

The absoluteness of space and time means, in the philosophical sense, that their existence in no way depends on any sensations or conceptions in the human mind.

The motion of matter is absolute and objective. But the absoluteness of motion does not contradict its physical relativity. Motion occurs only as relative motion of bodies. The motion of a body is comprehensible only in relation to some other body, to a definite frame of reference. In this sense motion has a relative character. From the above it follows that the absoluteness and objectivity of motion in the philosophical sense are not in contradiction to the relativity of motion in the physical sense. The absoluteness and relativity of motion are the inseparable parts of their dialectical unity. In science, the properties of space and time are inseparably connected with the motion of material bodies. The relativity of motion leads to the relativity of space and time. This does not, however, refute in any way the absoluteness and objectivity of space and time as the objective forms of the existence of matter, nor does the relativity of motion refute in any way its absoluteness and objectivity from the philosophical point of view.

The relativity of space and time is characterized, first, from the point of view of the relative character of motion and, secondly, from the point of view of their mutual interdependence.

When we speak of the relativity of space and time we mean the relativity of space-interval and the relativity of simultaneity (and, further, of duration) from the point of view of material systems traveling at different speeds in respect to each other.

Consequently the objectivity of spatial or temporal intervals remains unaffected; but the fact un-

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der consideration is their different evaluation from the point of view of differently moving systems. On the contrary, it follows even from the special principle of the theory of relativity that in systems "at rest" all physical phenomena follow exactly the same course, time and space-interval included. The general theory of relativity generalizes the special principle for all systems and thereby but confirms the objectivity and the absoluteness of space and time. And, as we pointed out before, the difference in the evaluation of the space-intervals and of durations does not depend on the subjective qualities of the observers in the different systems but on the velocities of those systems (and the speed of light), *i.e.*, on quite objective factors.

Motion embodies the unity of space and time. In this phenomenon they are absolutely inseparable.

Of course, time and space are absolute and objective; but this objectivity is actual only because of their close union as the two inseparable forms of existence of the single continuous matter. Apart from time, space can be conceived as an amorphous, fictitious entity, just as time apart from space can be thought of only as an a priori concept. In reality, however, neither exists separately.

The measurement of space and time is equally incapable of undermining their objective existence. Irrespective of our methods of measuring space-intervals, the interatomic, geographic, cosmic, etc., intervals exist and will exist objectively, and independently of our conceptions. Their changes (theoretically taking place constantly) depend on the objective factors; for instance, the change in the distance from the earth to the sun is a result of the decrease in the force of gravitation due to the dissipation of solar matter through radiation, etc. In the same way, the diverse methods for measuring time cannot in the least disprove the objective existence of time, the objectivity of the definite intervals of time. The time of the revolution of the earth about the sun is a period which depends upon the properties of the motion of material bodies and on no other forces. It may please humanity to name this period a year, or anything else; but the fact remains a fact irrespective of the name. It would have been just as possible to measure one revolution of the earth about its axis with timepieces divided into 16 parts instead of 12. The objective period of the revolution of the earth would not thereby be changed by a second. The terms astronomical, mean, sidereal, solar and local are but the different methods of measuring time, which do not change in the least the objective course of its flow.

It should be noted that all methods of measuring time are based on some objective period of its duration, a year, a day, etc., which only confirms the objectivity of time. The measurement of cosmic distances by light-years* signifies both the objectivity of space and time

* A light-year is the distance light traveling at 186,000 miles per second would traverse in a year.—*Ed.*

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intervals and their intimate connection.

The absoluteness and objectivity of space and time do not depend in any way upon man's perception and knowledge of them. The perception of time and space is a complex psychological process. Space and time act upon our organs of sensation in a very peculiar way. Engels remarked long ago that space and time cannot be smelled. The investigation of this problem belongs to the field of the theory of cognition and psychology. Here we note only that perceptions of space and time by a subject do not disprove their objective existence but on the contrary themselves depend on the specific properties of space and time as the objective modes of the existence of matter.

Man's knowledge of the properties of space and time, the process of discovery of their real nature, is a complex dialectical process, in the course of which we continually discover new properties of space and time; learn new aspects and replace old conceptions by new; and come ever nearer to the knowledge of their true nature, to the absolute truth. The development and change of our concepts of space and time speak for the relative character of our knowledge in general which, continuously developing, becomes more ample and adequate. This in no measure refutes the absoluteness and objectivity of space and time, just as the relative character of our knowledge of objective reality can in no way disprove the fact of its existence, as Lenin clearly showed in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.*

The Infinity of Space and Time

Matter is eternal; it is infinite in space and time. The universe is ever existing in infinite change and in infinite diversity of phenomena. "This order, the same for all things, no one of gods or men has made, but it always was, and is, and ever shall be, an ever-living fire, kindling according to fixed measure, and extinguished according to fixed measure."* (Heraclitus of Ephesus.)

Matter is everlasting and uncreated. The absolute law of nature, the law of conservation of matter and of mass-energy is the expression of the eternal and uncreated nature of the material world. All the phenomena of the natural world are subject to the absolute law of nature which is consistent only with the recognition of the universe as everlasting and uncreated and, in turn, follows from it.

The infinity of matter determines the infinity of space and time which are inseparably bound up with matter and which are the forms of its existence. Space and time, as was pointed out by Feuerbach, are the manifestation of the actual infinite. The infinity of space and the infinity of time are a reality conditioned by the infinity of matter as the objective reality of the infinite objective world of nature.

Dialectical materialism deduces the infinity of space and time from the infinity of matter; the properties of matter determine the properties of space and time. This is the only scientific thesis which is compatible

* *Selections from Earl Greek Philosophy,* edited by Milton C. Nahm. F. S. Crofts and Co., 1934, p. 90.

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with all natural laws and, above all, with the law of the conservation of mass-energy, the absolute law of nature.

The acceptance of the opposite view, of the finite nature of space and time leads eventually to idealism and to religion. The thesis of the finite universe implies the creation of the world by supernatural power out of nothing; it implies a transcendental world governed by its own supernatural laws.

Materialism and idealism are diametrically opposed to each other in their conception of the essential properties of space and time. The thesis of the infinite universe is *compatible only with the materialistic* philosophy which recognizes matter as the sole substance of all change. On the other hand, the thesis of the finite universe is idealistic and leads directly to the admission of a supernatural divine force.

The hypothesis of infinity of space (and the universe) cannot be tested directly by an experiment. This, however, in no way diminishes its scientific and logical validity. The hypothesis of the infinity of space is founded on the laws of natural science, and it alone is compatible with them.

Here we can note in detail the following:

1. The hypothesis of the infinity of the universe (and of space and time) is the only one which makes it possible to explain, in a natural and scientific way, the emergence and development of diverse worlds and organisms, without contradicting the laws of the development of matter and, especially, the law of conservation of matter and the law of conservation and transformation of energy-mass.

2. From the unity and continuity of matter it follows that there can be no absolute boundaries of space, boundaries, that is, beyond which there could be nothing else but simply real space.

3. Postulating finite space leads to the recognition of a supernatural power and of a transcendental realm which contradicts all the progress of human knowledge.

Therefore, it is possible to speak not only of the hypothesis but of the thesis of infinite space, the only *scientific and the materialistic* thesis.

Social practice is the criterion of the validity of our knowledge, theories, postulates, hypotheses. This criterion, however, cannot always be applied in a simple and direct manner. As it has been pointed out, laboratory experiments cannot prove directly whether the world is infinite or finite. The criterion of practice in this case is more complex: It is the verification by life of all scientific laws of matter in motion, which amply confirm the infinity of space. And we can say with the Roman materialist, Lucretius:

"The universe then is not limited along any of its paths; for if so it ought to have an extremity. Again, clearly nothing can have an extremity unless there be something beyond to bound it, so that something can be seen, beyond which our sense can follow no further. Now since we must confess that there is nothing beyond the sum of things,

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it has no extremity, and therefore it is without end or limit. Nor does it matter in which of its quarters you stand: so true is it, that whatever place anyone occupies, he leaves the whole equally infinite in every direction." *

Or as Engels says:

"Eternity in time, infinity in space, mean from the start, and in the simple meaning of the words, that there is no end in *any* direction, neither forwards nor backwards, upwards or downwards, to the right or to the left." **

The materialistic Weltanschauung leads to the inevitable conclusion that space is infinite. The denial of this leads to idealism, to belief in the first impulse of a supernatural force, etc.; *i.e.,* it leads to religion.

The theory of relativity has produced many new, fresh and profoundly scientific conceptions about space and time. On this point bourgeois scientists, beginning with Einstein himself, made the theory of relativity the reactionary tool which is being used by religion and idealism for attacking the materialistic thesis of the infinity of the universe. In opposition to this, we show that the ideas of the theory of relativity were, and remain, progressive, scientific ideas, but that the conclusions as to the finite character of space are tendentious inferences on the part of bourgeois science and philosophy, and in no way follow from the basic principles of the theory.

The main arguments which the proponents of the finite theory of space derive from the theory of relativity are the following:

1. "The infinite universe is possible only on the assumption that the mean density of matter in the universe is equal to zero."

Einstein rejects this assumption and thereby asserts that space is finite. The mathematical expression, from which it follows that the mean density of matter must equal zero, for space to be infinite, is derived by Einstein through advancing a number of working hypotheses which by no means reflect the actual laws of space. For example, the hypothesis of the constant positive curvature of space, the property which holds only for a finite space, but which is not at all applicable to the universe as a whole. Further, in order to establish space as finite, Einstein postulates the existence of a certain center toward which all the material masses of the universe gravitate. Present-day astronomy definitely rejects the existence of such a center.

Therefore, the first argument cannot be considered a convincing defense of the thesis of the finite universe. Its main fallacy consists in the mechanical application of the laws of the finite to the infinite.

2. This argument is closely connected with the first and it also deals with the constant, positive curvature of space. Here are two assumptions contrary to fact: first, the correct idea of the theory of relativity about matter as the de-

* Lucretius: *De Rerum Natura* (On the Nature of Things), with an English translation by W. H. D. Rouse. D. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1931, p. 71.

** Frederick Engels, *Herr Eugen Duehring's Revolution in Science* (*Anti-Duehring*). International Publishers, 1939, p. 57.

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ciding factor for the properties of space is distorted by the assumption that the distribution of matter (gravitational masses) in the universe is uniform, while in reality the distribution of the material masses is extremely uneven and complex; and secondly, the existence of a single center of gravitation for all the material masses is introduced again, which also has no place in the world of reality.

3. "The hypothesis that the universe is infinite and Euclidean becomes complicated from the point of view of the theory of relativity." To supplement this argument Einstein introduces the postulate of the simplicity of conditions of closed (finite) space.

This argument cannot be considered a serious one. It does not assert anything nor does it refute anything. Here is shown once more the scientific sterility of Machism and its "economy of thought," even when it is used by the greatest scientists.

It was remarked above that among the advocates of the theory of relativity there is a tendency to make the physical depend upon the geometrical. From this is deduced the finiteness of the universe which they assert, basing the proof on the properties of Riemann's geometry, which is a geometry of bounded space.

From the point of view of the theory of knowledge everything here is standing on its head. The geometrical figures and abstractions retain their meaning only when they reflect the definite relations and properties of real spatial objects and thus clearly depend on the physical properties of space.

Nor can the various mathematical formulas for expressing finite space be accepted as convincing. For instance, the first equation for the radius of the universe, which Einstein presented in 1917, the derivation of which was based on the equation of the gravitational field into which he had introduced the so-called cosmological term. This equation Einstein himself always considered artificial, and subsequently he offered other equations for the radius of the universe, in deducing which he constantly assumed the finiteness of space and rejected the hypothesis of infinity. This is a circular argument: that which is to be proved is already accepted in the premise.

In general, the following can be said concerning Einstein's argument for finite space. It mechanically applies the laws which are operative in the finite realm to the realm of the infinite and, therefore, it is not in the least convincing. The positive content of the theory of relativity is the recognition of the dependence of the properties of space on the distribution of matter in the universe. But this proposition is tendentiously distorted by the bourgeois scientists in such a manner that it becomes the foundation for anti-scientific conclusions favoring finite space.

One of the attempts to establish the finite world is by means of the proposition stating the dependence of the radius of the universe on time. For this Einstein devised a mathematical expression: the differ-

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ential equation without the cosmological term which he gave in 1931. According to this equation, the radius of the universe is not a constant but a variable magnitude, the function of time. This dependence is expressed either in the form of simple increase of the radius of the universe with time, or in the form of the variation of the radius in time.

A multitude of speculations of modern bourgeois philosophy and religion are connected with this idea of the theory of relativity and, in particular, with this equation. The world during the last twenty years has been literally flooded with all kinds of theories of "exploding," of "expanding," of "pulsating" universes. There were attempts at mathematical computation of the time for the "end of the world," etc.

All this is anti-scientific speculation carried on by bourgeois philosophy and religion with quite definite ends in view, namely, to combat the scientific materialistic Weltanschauung and to supplant it with idealism and the religious Weltanschauung.

One of the militant representatives of clericalism, Bishop Barnes,* declared: "The theory of infinite space is a disgrace to the human race." It is not easy to comprehend how the theory of destruction and death of the world can do honor to humanity.

It is quite evident that all these theories are sharply at variance with all of science and, above all, with the absolute, immutable law of nature—that matter is eternal and uncreated. These theories lead immediately to the first "divine impulse," as the result of which the universe arises and receives its motion. Here idealism and religion are in perfect accord and the scientific point of view, and the true laws of nature, are rejected, since they contradict all these religiously idealistic conceptions. The diametric opposition of materialism and idealism appears here in all its clarity. The thesis of idealism—the world is finite in space and in time—is an anti-scientific thesis contradictory to all the natural scientific laws. The thesis of materialism is the only scientific thesis because only this thesis of the infinity of the world in space and time permits the explanation of the world on the basis of the scientific laws of nature. The universe is infinite in space and time; finite and transitory are the separate, single worlds, but the world as a whole exists eternally in infinite space.

* Ernest William Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham.—*Ed.*

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